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Bonn and Washington — a case of give and take



...elations between Germany and the ...United States have never been en...ly without clouds.

...here has regularly been friction. But ...periods of ill-humour invariably end ...eclarations of mutual allegiance.

...he White House did not find Hel...u Schmidt, for instance, always easy ...ston with.

...eak presidents thought that this ef...ent and level-headed Hamburg man ...l down the law too much like a ...oolmaster.

...chmidt's advice got on the nerves of ...ng presidents.

...o relations between Washington and ...n have changed a little. Helmut ...l is easier to get on with. Americans ...l that he is even more compliant.

...et even he has hinted more than ...e that German interests must not ne...arily be identical with those of the ...ted States.

...hat was apparent when Defence Se...ary Weinberger mounted his age...l hobby-horse and called on Ameri...s European allies to step up their de...e spending.

...e does this at least once a year and ...etimes more often. But no one in ...ope really takes much notice, least ...ll the Germans.

...n Bonn great play has been made ...h figures such as the substantial ...ngth in being of the Bundeswehr, the ...den imposed by Berlin, the need to ...ance the budget and, last but not ...st, the government's welfare commit...ents.

...n this respect the Schmidt era dif...ed from the Kohl era merely inas...ch as Chancellor Schmidt invariably ...d what he thought.

...hancellor Kohl tends to couch his ...ual in more florid terms, which is ...y Mr Weinberger may choose to in...pret it as a kind of approval, albeit ...ged with provisos and not exactly ef...ve in its approval.

...Mr Weinberger does not seem to be ...ticularly popular with the Christian ...d Free Democratic Cabinet in Bonn. ...is, after all, pretty penetrating.

...Bonn Defence Minister Manfred ...rner cautiously drops a hint to that ...ect now and then, whereas the Chan...lor, who sets great store by harmony, ...ches his reservations in prolix cord...ity.

...ut when it comes down to brass ...ks there can be no mistaking the dif...ences of opinion on, say, German or ...opean participation in the US ...ategic Defence Initiative research ...ogramme.

What the Bonn coalition parties have now drawn up is a policy statement that may express approval in principle but includes a string of reservations.

Participation by Bonn is considered fundamentally desirable but ought, it is felt, to be based on fair and mutually beneficial terms.

That of course is the crucial point, although there can be no overlooking the fact that any further limitations would call the space weapons system itself into question.

Bonn is for the present interested merely in research and not in implementation of the Star Wars project.

This cautious German tactical approach is understandable and warranted. President Reagan's pet project is no more to begin with than a mission to scientists to look into the idea.

It remains to be seen whether they will, at some stage in the years to come, express unreserved approval of the project or raise objections. The scheme is definitely an extremely problematic and dubious business.

Bonn's readiness to tag along with it at all is probably due less to the military aspect of the project being considered the crucial aspect.

The signs are that the technological and economic transformation of research findings fascinates political leaders in the Federal Republic (and not only political leaders).

This aspect is doubtless the one that has prompted the Japanese, who are arguably the least interested in an anti-missile shield, to reconsider their position.

The civilian applications of new scientific findings in manufacturing industry are of considerable significance as they see it. So the Japanese government could well yet decide to jump on the bandwaggon too.

Leading nuclear physicists say the civilian spin-off will amount to about 90 per cent.

In other words, systematic research with purely military targets can give technology and the economy as a whole such a boost that the civilian sector may benefit to an unprecedented extent if it is properly evaluated. That is why the Bonn gov-

Continued on page 3



Finnish welcome

Finland's President Koivisto (right) welcomes Bonn President von Weizsäcker and Frau von Weizsäcker to Helsinki. (See page 2) (Photo: dpa)

Lafontaine and SPD bolt home in Saar; CDU holds Berlin

Oskar Lafontaine, the charismatic Mayor of Saarbrücken, stormed to a convincing victory in the Saar *Land* election last Sunday. Lafontaine, the Social Democrats' top candidate and a member of the party's left wing, overturned a CDU/FDP coalition to become the State Prime Minister with an absolute SPD majority. In West Berlin, the CDU/FDP coalition led by Christian Democrat Eberhard Diepgen, was returned to office. The FDP, who these days always seem to have a battle trying to get over the five per cent hurdle, improved their result in both elections. In the Saar, the SPD's share of the poll increased from 45.2 per cent in 1980 to 49.2 this time, enough in the small assembly to get more than half the members. The CDU's vote dropped from 44 per cent to 37.3 per cent. The Free Democrats improved from 6.9 per cent to 7,4 per cent while the Greens, against the national trend, lost votes (2.5 per cent compared with 2.9 per cent). The Saar has heavy unemployment, mainly in the steel industry, and the Greens' no-growth policy has no appeal there. In West Berlin, Mayor Diepgen was returned with a vote down from 48 per cent in 1981 to 46.4. But the Social Democrats, headed by former Cabinet Minister Hans Apel, lost votes heavily, dropping from 38.3 per cent to 32.4 per cent. It was a major loss for Apel, who had to overcome a carpet-bagger image (he is from Hamburg) and divisions within the party. Both the FDP and the Alternative List gained. Local elections were also held on the same day in Hesse.



These elections in Berlin, Hesse and the Saar have something for everyone.

The SPD takeover from the CDU in the Saar is probably less surprising than the fine showing of the FDP in both the Saar and Berlin.

The indication is that the Free Democrats have overcome the traumatic effect of switching allegiance in Bonn in 1982.

Sailing in the lee of the CDU in Bonn the Free Democrats are still not exposed to criticism of Bonn government policies in the way that the CDU is.

Viewed in this light the mid-term poll test for Bonn has been negative for the CDU under Helmut Kohl yet positive for the FDP under Martin Bangemann.

This cannot fail to have an effect on the Bonn coalition, with the Liberals emerging strengthened whereas the CDU, weakened in the Bundesrat, will be subject to even stronger pressure from the CSU in Bavaria. The three CDU votes in the Bundesrat

Continued on page 12

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Bonn and Paris: occasional set of bristles in a smooth relationship

Several issues are causing disagreement between Paris and Bonn.

They include President Reagan's strategic defence system in space, the proposed European fighter aircraft for the 1990s, aerospace research and how to combat car exhaust emission.

Ten years ago, an authority on German-French relations said that both nations feel a sense of solidarity but don't always agree.

Trust and mistrust exist side by side in varying degrees.

Alfred Grosser said disagreement and agreement follow in swift succession. Paris and Bonn never fully agree but also never totally disagree.

Grosser is at home in both societies and has been for years following with critical sympathy the course of democracy in the Federal Republic.

At the same time, he has been trying in France to dispel prejudice about the Germans.

M. Grosser's words seem surprisingly relevant to the present state of relations and could well be quoted as a summary of the latest rounds of Franco-German summit talks.

Ten years ago Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing were unable, despite being on excellent personal terms, to forestall clashes of interest. Helmut Kohl and François Mitterrand are no more able to do so today.

The men in power are thwarted, despite their good will, by those much-maligned objective necessities.

At times they are also frustrated by psychological barriers such as persistent prejudice that has nonetheless failed to totally destroy Franco-German youth exchange.

The cordial atmosphere of the latest round of consultations was unable to disguise the fact that neighbouring France and Germany are going through a fresh period of disagreement.

Deep-seated differences of opinion exist in five sectors:

1. President Reagan's plans for a strategic defence system in space are viewed by Bonn as an opportunity of catching up with America in laser and particle research.

At the Munich defence conference Chancellor Kohl said he favoured joining forces with the Americans on this programme for economic reasons.

President Mitterrand in contrast is strictly opposed to Mr Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative on strategic and military grounds.

He is afraid that American success would prompt the Soviet Union to embark on a similar programme, in which case France's military prestige project, the nuclear task force, or *force de frappe*, would lose all meaning.

2. In the arms collaboration sector a Franco-German dispute is impeding progress on planning for the European fighter-aircraft for the 1990s.

France insists on project management and a key role in manufacture, and people who took part in the last round of project talks complained that the French representatives were behaving like "the Americans of Europe."

3. There are serious differences of opinion on aerospace research. Bonn may have decided to take part in the Ariane 5 launcher rocket programme but to the French government's extreme

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

disappointment it refused to participate in the French Hermes space shuttle project.

Instead, Bonn strongly favoured European participation in the US Columbus programme, again mainly with a view to catching up with the United States. In France's view that would be to miss yet another opportunity of making Europe less dependent on America technologically.

4. The dispute over vehicle emission, catalytic converters and unleaded petrol has grown slightly less intense since Bonn has yielded to French pressure and agreed to temporarily exempt cars below 1,400cc.

At times there have been absurd accusations in France that the catalyst dispute is further proof of the Federal Republic uncritically accepting anything from America or Japan instead of thinking in terms of Europe.

Yet the real reason for the clash is that the French motor industry is trailing in this sector and worried it might stand to forfeit still more market shares as a result.

With elections to the National Assembly due next year, France's ruling Socialists are keen to avoid at all costs any further setback in French car sales.

5. Yet France pays scant attention to European standards when it has the technological edge, as in connection with the introduction of the Minitel videotex unit.

France could not afford to wait until all details of the CEPT standards were thrashed out, French PTT Minister Mexandeau blandly said.

CEPT stands for European conference of postal and telegraph departments.

The two last-named issues are unlikely to impose a long-term burden on Franco-German ties. They are merely symptomatic of the periodic upsets that bedevil what is a marriage of convenience.

They are due to differences in economic structure in the two countries, whereas more fundamental differences inevitably arise in connection with security policy.

In this sector there can be no easing the burden of dispute in the foreseeable future. For as long as the United States guarantees the Federal Republic's security Bonn will logically remain more dependent on the USA than France.

That hasn't yet seriously worried ... one in Paris. Bonn's Nato member... also ensures that the Federal Rep... will remain as a glacis to France's ... the event of hostilities.

There are now politicians in Fr... who see further ahead and feel the ... will come when America increas... loses interest in the Atlantic and ... its attention to the Pacific.

Such ideas account for the French ... sire to collaborate more closely with ... Federal Republic in the military se... Difficulties arise due to French nu... deterrent policy, which is a national ... boo.

Short-range tactical nuclear mis... stationed in eastern France will re... a threat even if Paris reveals to B... details of French nuclear target pl... ing.

The fact remains that if they fail ... effective as a deterrent the French n... lear warheads will be aimed at targe... Germany.

These points aren't raised at ev... Franco-German summit but they ... contradictions that weigh heavily on ... ations.

The logic of the political and ec... omic situation in Europe fortuna... forces both sides to come to terms ... these contradictions and to elimi... them wherever possible.

What that means for Bonn is that ... lantic options must not be direc... against Europe, while for Paris natio... decisions must not impede Europ... cooperation.

Wolfgang Schmi...

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 5 March 19...)

Intensive preparations are under way in the Finnish capital for the 10th anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act, or Helsinki accords, later this year.

Bonn president finds out Finnish views

So it was hardly surprising that the subject of CSCE was raised right from the start when Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker went to Finland for a four-day state visit.

The Helsinki accords featured prominently in his talks with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto. Even less surprising, because Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who accompanied the President, is one of the keenest supporters of the CSCE idea.

So President Koivisto will have seen what importance the Federal Republic attaches to the CSCE process and to intensively promoting it.

On this issue the two countries share very strong common interests even though Finland is one of the four neutral CSCE countries and the Federal Republic is a member of Nato.

So Herr Genscher expressly identified himself with the view expressed in a commentary previewing the visit that Finland as the Helsinki host country of a decade ago and the Federal Republic of Germany continue to be among the keenest supporters of the conference.

The reasons why are self-evident. Finland shares a 1,269-kilometre (793-mile) border with the Soviet Union and must primarily be concerned to maintain good-neighbourly relations with the Kremlin.

Yet the Finns attach great importance to running their affairs without external intervention and in the way they decided on decades ago; as a state committed culturally, economically and politically to the rules of Western democracy.

They are best able to do so in a climate of detente. This policy was most readily apparent when Finland hosted the Salt talks between the superpowers in 1969 and 1970 and went on to hold the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In Finland's geopolitical position there is no alternative to the policy of neutrality drawn up and consistently pursued by Mr Koivisto's predecessors Paasikivi and Kekkonen, as Herr von Weizsäcker noted with great respect.

The Federal Republic of Germany abides just as consistently by its firm ties with Nato. No-one, Herr von Weizsäcker said in Helsinki, need have any doubts on that score.

In view of the current debate on the German Question in other countries he repeated that the Federal Republic had no territorial claims on other countries and would never stake any in future.

But the division of Europe in general and Germany in particular into two hostile blocs could not be "history's last word" on the subject.

The Bonn head of state referred in this connection to the aim of making the consequences of the division of Germany and of Europe more bearable for people with a view to eventually eliminating them entirely.

That tallied entirely with what his host President Koivisto said, which brings us back full-circle to the CSCE and the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act, which gave rise to so many hopes and has so far fulfilled so few of them.

Understandably, both men chose to exercise diplomatic restraint in reply to pointed questions as to the politi... level at which meetings would be hel... mark the anniversary.

The Finns would naturally prefer, ... as hosts and as a matter of principle, ... the gathering attended by the high... ranking politicians possible, and by he... of government at the very least.

But most of the 35 CSCE count... are working on the assumption that ... anniversary gathering will be atten... by Foreign Ministers.

The question that arises is the same ... a decade ago. The higher the politi... level, the greater the hopes placed in ... conference by the general public (... the deeper the disappointment in ... event of failure).

So nothing definite has yet been ... as to whether Chancellor Kohl or F... eign Minister Genscher will be in He... sinki for the anniversary.

But the two heads of state agreed ... one point: that no-one stood to ben... from a routine commemoration cere... ony. The 10th anniversary of Helsi... must be taken as a clear incentive ... give the CSCE process, which ... ground to a halt, fresh impetus.

Siegfried Löffle...

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 7 March 19...)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Coalition sits a little more firmly in the saddle

DIE ZEIT

Chancellor Kohl is in a far better position now, halfway through his four-year term, than he was a few months ago in the autumn.

Last year was an accident-prone one for the government. There was the Kiessling affair, in which the Bundeswehr general was sacked after being falsely accused of being a homosexual and frequenting a well-known gay bar in Cologne. Kiessling was reinstated.

Then there was the abortive plan to grant an amnesty to contributors to party funds illegally.

But now the successes are beginning to outnumber the failures with, for example, economic achievements.

But one thing that has not improved with the government's standing is the Chancellor's public image.

It is no better than that of Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel and far worse than those of the Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, and the CDU/CSU as a whole.

The Chancellor's supporters are not thrilled with him, but they do vote for him.

He impresses people with his strong instinct for power and his unruffled self-confidence. He has the ability to let nothing throw him off course.

He is the undisputed leader of both the government and the party. There is no rival. Even Franz Josef Strauss, leader of the CSU, has toned down his oratory.

However, the coalition gives no great impression of unity. Kohl's leadership, though it may be undisputed, is often flabby. Internal opposition is often merciless and without scruple.

But unlike in Helmut Schmidt's day as Chancellor in charge of a Social Democrat-Free Democrat coalition, every disagreement does not threaten to bring down the whole deck of cards.

Conflicts are solved by pushing them aside. Problems are solved by doing nothing about them.

There are many reasons why the government is in a better position now than it was:

First, it is no longer accident-prone. The Kiessling affair, the party funds amnesty plan, the legal and de facto manoeuvres over a power station at Buschhaus are all in the past.

Second, the economic upswing promised has arrived, exports are flourishing, there is economic growth and inflation is low. The appeal to industry to modernise and the support given without reservation by the government to all modern technology, rather than ostracising it, has given the government the appearance of embodying progress and modernity in economic and industrial spheres.

There is wide-spread optimism, despite the worrying unemployment figure, for which no one has a pat answer, except relatively ineffectual state borrowing.

Third, the budget has been approved, the awful period is over, the deep inroads into social welfare legislation have come to an end. The horn of plenty is to be scattered over family affairs policies.

The government has managed to cobble together a pensions policy.

Fourth, Kohl, whose foreign affairs policies carry on where his predecessors left off, has been able to establish a relationship with President Reagan, without having to pay the high price of being a yes-man for it.

The opposition predicted that the missiles deployment policies would bring about an ice age in East-West relations, but this has not happened. The Russians are returning to the nuclear arms talks in Geneva without pre-conditions. The lines for discussions with East Germany, despite Erich Honecker's cancellation of his visit to Bonn, remain open. The Chancellor's success in office is reflected in the about-face among the Social-Democrats to more conservative values which Willy Brandt has introduced.

It is aimed at scaling down confrontation with the coalition, seeking to limit the need and at the same time the possibilities of critical cooperation with the union where these are called for in the national interest — foreign affairs and unemployment, pensions and environmental pollution.

There are three aspects here: No sparks have flown from doctrinnaire opposition to mobilise any masses.

This is because the government has not offered enough weak spots to attack.

The much proclaimed left of centre conservatism" has turned out to be a delusion because the Greens reject it.

The Social Democrats have again discovered the political centre, because only there is there a voter reserve from which governments can be formed.

Many remember the 1960s when the SPD's refusal to pursue a rigorous opposition to security and economic policies led finally to the Grand Coalition.

There can be no talk of the revival of such an alliance today, at least not in Bonn.

This could happen in the *Länder* where clear majorities remain elusive and the Greens' chosen isolation stance has led to "toleration" tactics.

The spirit of the times, so said Rainer Barzel in opposition at the beginning of the 1970s, is with Willy Brandt. Helmut Schmidt governed with a consensus that



Kohl and Genscher. It's better this year. (Photo: J.H.Darchinger)

stretched way beyond the confines of his own party.

The same cannot be said for Kohl. The coalition he leads fulfills the hopes of the broad centre. That effects the pragmatism that is part of the conservative-led government. The change of coalition partners in 1982 was more than just a trival political flourish but a change of programme for the future.

At the same time there was a general sudden change in public opinion. Confidence dislodged anxieties about the future.

The urge for demonstration, for politics in the streets, ebbed. Expressions such as "effort should be rewarded" had their effect. The Chancellor, in the work of the government, did not have so much to do with change but to press ahead perhaps with what the old government was no longer able to achieve.

So Kohl went ahead with missile deployment, increased public borrowing, continued to make inroads into the welfare state and made decisions on the future of the armed forces.

In addition there were environmental policies that were an expected feature of government policies. These policies, however, still have to pass the test of the catalytic converters. The government tried to create the image of a popular party but it still has to fulfil electoral pledges.

The family affairs policies are also a novelty, in the sense of material allowances. There is no cultural revolution concealed in the ideas behind this policy.

Real major reforms are not on the agenda. The latest tax reforms presented are part of the normal programme of any federal government.

Nevertheless there has been an unbelievable change of climate. The income gaps get ever wider. The expression "new poor" has been given more point, particularly when international comparisons are made. It is true that one of the major weaknesses of the Kohl government is its neglect of social symmetry.

The highest unemployment figure since the establishment of the Federal Republic could be the background to the creation of conflicts that could lead to a sharp decline in the economic situation and a difficult domestic position.

Indisputably the Chancellor has held to continuity in foreign and defence policies, and to dealings with East Germany.

In practice dealings have been different to what they previously were, for instance in the pointless and quite unofficial frontiers discussion that created suspicion not only in the East but also in the West.

Why didn't the Chancellor put his foot down from the very beginning? Or was it a matter of election tactics? Eventually he was forced to make a stand in his state-of-the-nation report.

No one doubts Kohl's European commitment. But what a difference there is between generalised and high-sounding rhetoric and the definition of the next step that is likely to be successful. And what has happened to Kohl's demand for a European defence policy? The position is very unclear.

This brings up the question as to whether West German influence has not only been reduced in Europe but internationally as well. The answer is: yes.

But this process set in during Helmut Schmidt's period in office, and is primarily due to the renaissance of American power under Ronald Reagan.

Both superpowers now have a dominating influence on the course of East-West relations. Bonn alone can do nothing, but priority should be given to doing something in alliance with our important European partners.

All in all the Bonn coalition has the appearance of a wood-cut whose new-won stability is neither threatened from within nor from without.

The way is not being prepared for fundamental changes in the basic views of the people, that would make a hole in the Bundestag coalition and bring about changes.

But the Chancellor's risks are considerable. If Geneva turns out to be the mistake of the century and the economy takes a hammering then today's harmony would disappear.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 8 March 1985)

Continued from page 1

ernment has decided to ask Washington first to answer two questions.

First, the Reagan administration must outline in detail whether what initially seem to be somewhat utopian plans can really supply a satisfactory answer to the security problem and disarmament issues.

Second, Bonn would like to know whether what can be put to civilian use is to benefit all countries that fully commit their intellectual and scientific capacity and finance potential.

Such conditions are logically likely to put paid to everything Mr Weinberger envisaged in making his offer. He as an American sought to harness the scientific, technological and financial strength of America's allies on behalf of a system that for him, thinking solely in terms of strictly military categories, can only make sense if it leaves the Soviet Union trailing the West.

Most Europeans in contrast have totally different priorities. They set greater store by the research than by the implementation; they aim to benefit from the findings of their joint research and to give their economies a fresh boost.

This is still all very vague, and neither the Germans nor other interested Europeans have any idea yet what the outcome may be for them.

They emphasise their own interests and refuse to set them aside. So everything will depend on whether the US government is generous enough to share and share alike with its allies.

Is this an astute approach? Not necessarily. The long-term effect of European space commitments on the Geneva disarmament talks has not been considered at all, and it could be devastating.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 4 March 1985)

■ DEFENCE

Euro-squabbles over planned fighter aircraft

SüddeutscheZeitung

Squabbling between the European partners is threatening plans to develop an all-European fighter aircraft (Efa) for the 1990s.

The main bone of contention is a French demand that it should have a larger slice of the project than the others. The others disagree.

Skeleton proposals for the aircraft to succeed the Tornado were agreed at the end of 1983.

Seven months later, European defence ministers decided in Madrid that all the component parts would be made in Europe instead of buying some off the peg from the Americans.

Development costs would be about 15 billion marks — expensive. The Germans would pay about four billion marks and another 17.5 billion to buy at least 200 aircraft for the Luftwaffe.

It was agreed to share costs and contracts: Britain, France and Germany with 25 per cent each and Italy and Spain sharing the rest.

But now the French insist on a 46 per cent share. Plus overall responsibility in everything, management, development and production.

The chief engineer must be a Frenchman. The aircraft engines must be French.

The French say their technology is better than anyone else's.

One Bonn military man involved says the French are gradually emerging as "the European Americans".

He says: "And in 30 years, not a single cooperation project with the Americans has worked properly.

"It will be a miracle if Efa is salvaged."

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner says it is little short of a miracle that Luftwaffe C-in-C Eberhard Eimler succeeded in the first place in persuading his colleagues in Britain, France, Italy and Spain to join forces in developing the aircraft.

When the defence ministers met in Madrid to the clinking of glasses of Spanish sparkling wine, commissioned a feasibility report and decided, greatly to the satisfaction of domestic arms manufacturers, to have all major components made in Europe rather than buy some in the United States.

That was the most expensive option but one that seemed advisable in view of unsatisfactory results of arms cooperation with the United States in the past.

There must be no more billions sent across the Atlantic for nothing in return, one Bonn politician said.

Aircraft manufacturers in all five countries are to submit their feasibility report and project concepts to Defence Ministry procurement departments by the end of this month.

Defence Ministers planned to hail the next breakthrough, doubtless to the accompaniment of glasses of Italian sparkling wine, on 30 April in Rome.

But when industry representatives and Defence Ministry envoys met in Bavaria a few days ago to take a last look at the paperwork there was no German sparkling wine to round off the talks. They ended in virtual disagreement and disarray.

The project ran into heavy weather and weighed heavily on the much-vaunted Franco-German relations.

French behaviour at the Bavarian meeting was variously described as bare-faced, hard-nosed and extremely chauvinistic. And these were the more restrained turns of phrase.

The gathering produced a document about 1,000 pages long that was, as the Bonn Defence Ministry cautiously puts it, for the most part jointly drafted.

Separate designs

Yet it outlines two separate and distinct aircraft designs, one submitted by the French, the other by the others.

After the Madrid Ministerial meeting the French chose to forget all about the recommendation to share costs and contracts on a 25-per-cent basis. So did the British.

Both lay claim to leadership of and a larger share in the project. But whereas the British made a point of appearing flexible, the French were adamant. They insisted on 46 per cent.

Thirty-three per cent might possibly be considered, but if the French were to be granted 33 per cent of contracts the British would demand a third share too.

Germany would be relegated to the role of a mere supplier. So neither demand is acceptable to the Germans.

The French insist on overall respo sibility in all sectors: managem development and production. The c engineer, as the key man at the dev lopment stage, must be a Frenchman.

The twin engines must also be to new French design rather than versi of the Tornado engine the other co tries could themselves update in d time.

French technology, the Fre argue, is better in everything exce perhaps radar, and the radar is getti better.

Of course, no one else agreed w them.

Yet the French feel they can make further concessions. They have alrea accepted the idea of designing t fighter primarily for an interceptor r and only secondarily for raids o ground targets.

They have also made concessions the proposed weight, as what is rea needed is a plane much lighter weight than the projected 9.5 tonnes.

Besides, France feels sure it can e port between 200 and 250 fighters. T French evidently feel they can hand exports themselves, although the Br ish also report an export market pote tial of 1,200 units.

The Germans, the unofficial arg ment runs, would not be able to expo many aircraft because of strict arms e port restrictions.

French domestic affairs is a reaso for all this happenening.

The ruling Socialists, whose popula ity is on the decline, don't want to b themselves open to accusations of ha ing permitted a sell-out of national in terests in this bumper arms project.

And unlike the British, who woul prefer to take the proposed fighter in service as soon as possible, the Fren are in no hurry. The later the newcom is available, the better their chances marketing existing fighters such as the own Mirage 2000.

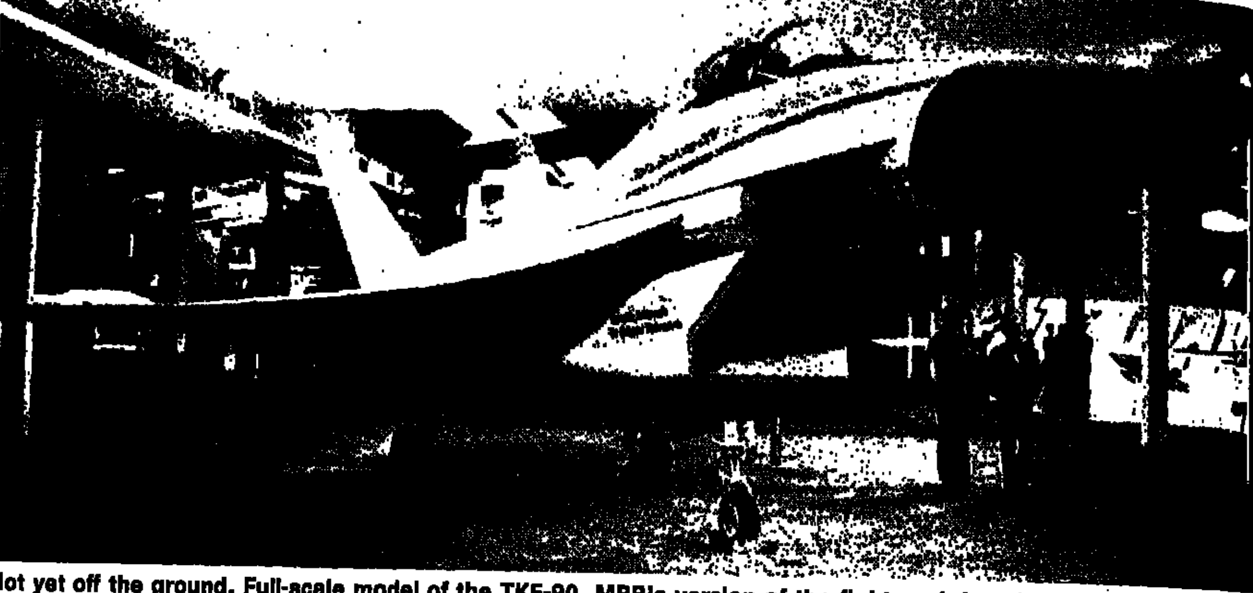
So Herr Wörner will need to perform a political tour de force. He has thre options open to him if he fails to pers ade the others to agree on the shar out:

- The project could go ahead withou France, possibly taking on addition partners.
- It could, of course, be retained bu as a purely Franco-German show.
- An American plane could be eithe bought or manufactured under licence which would lead to lay-offs and a dec line in know-how in the German aero space industry.

Whichever option he favours, he is sure to upset one partner or another i Nato.

Alexander Szandar

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 1 March 1985)



Not yet off the ground. Full-scale model of the TKF-90, MBB's version of the fighter of the 1990s. (Photo: Süddeutscher Ve...)

PERSPECTIVE

German view of the state of play in Central America

lois Mertes, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, was asked by mer US Secretary of State Cyrus ance to contribute to a collection of es s on the political situation in and the ate on Central America.

He has outlined, in a conversation with Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, the ic ideas elaborated in these essays.

Central America is not, he says, an er term for what in German is known Mittelamerika.

t mainly refers to the five countries on isthmus, or narrow neck of land con ting the two larger portions of what ght be more loosely defined as *Mittelamerika*.

They comprise the area that in 1823 ght to establish a confederation.

Herr Mertes, whose aim is to outline to Americans in his essay the German nt of view, notes that Europeans face range difficulty in the debate on Cen al America.

It is that there is no such thing as a ed consensus of US opinion on Am an policy toward the area.

Yet US opinion is quick to react, des e domestic disputes, with displeasure European views on the subject that are odds with Washington's.

In Europe, in contrast, there is a ool of thought that accuses the Amer ns of pursuing interventionist policies Central America in clear breach of in rnational law and disregard of histori and social trends in the area.

On 28 and 29 September 1984 Euro ns, Central Americans and represen ves of the Contadora Group con ed in San José, Costa Rica, on the in tive of Bonn Foreign Minister Hans etrich Genscher.

Herr Genscher said at the time that: We face, and are facing up to, the danger Central America becoming the scene a heightened clash between East and st." So there was a clear German in est in the subject.

Herr Mertes feels it is irrelevant to ref to this part of Latin America as be ging to the Third World; non-aligned ould be more to the point.

He adds that in Nicaragua's case there also the possibility of an illusion of n-alignment. "Non-alignment," he ys, "was one of the most important pro ses the Sandinistas made."

The West, not to mention the Contad a Group and the remainder of South erica, would like nothing better than genuinely non-aligned Central America the prerequisite for a lasting settle ent.

Central America in the stricter sense the term consists, apart from Costa Ri , of four small developing countries hose political suitability for democracy nnot be separated from the elimination injustice and social hardship.

Central America is in many respects a ecial case in the Latin American sector the Third World.

Aid given by the Soviet Union and its lies to developing countries of this kind ust be viewed with mistrust. They lend pport to all manner of liberation move ents openly and not in a clandestine anner.

Yet many responsible people in the est, including politicians, journalists, ientists and even clergymen, prefer to ose their eyes and ears to this reality.

The Soviet Union's objective, Herr Mertes argues, is Soviet-style "real socialism," and Moscow is convinced the battle will be won in the long term.

It feels indeed that socialism will prevail even without full-scale war between East and West provided use is made of opportunities of pragmatic adaptation, of slowing down and speeding up cooperation with the West at any given time.

The Soviet Union thus sees no point in supporting policies of revolutionary reform.

As a result the North, in the context of North-South dialogue, effectively consists only of the West.

The Federal Republic of Germany alone provides more in aid to the developing countries than the entire Soviet bloc.

The European Community is by far the largest donor of development aid in the world. It accounts for over half the aid given by the entire Western world.

Central America has thus emerged as a factor in the context of East-West tension, with Cuba and Nicaragua playing their part in fomenting it.

Yet the men who hold power and plan policies in Moscow are neither adventurers nor suicide candidates; they are disciplined and calculating and keen for survival's sake to avoid military confrontation with the United States.

That, he says, is why Soviet policy on Latin America is extremely cautious. But it is still most resolutely aimed at establishing long-term political influence options in the region.

In European party politics, Herr Mertes notes, there is a major difference

Frankfurter Allgemeine

of opinion at this point between Socialist parties and conservative Christian Democrat and Liberal parties.

Views differ on two issues:

- Is Soviet foreign policy aimed at static, defensive, or dynamic, expansive targets?
- What part is played, in the pursuit of these objectives, by the cultivation of military options and political allies outside the Soviet sphere of influence?

These, he adds, are issues on which Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt, both Social Democrats, are at odds.

Herr Brandt, who is chairman of the Socialist International, took part in a pro-Sandinista rally on the eve of the Nicaraguan elections last November. He compared US policy toward Nicaragua with Soviet warfare in Afghanistan. He is on first-name terms with Fidel Castro.

All these points are in Herr Mertes' view a logical consequence of his failure to accurately assess Soviet and Cuban strategy.

Herr Mertes says this strictly by way of analysis. He respects the views of SPD leaders. But they are still irreconcilable with what he and his political friends feel, all things considered, to be absolutely necessary.

Soviet strategy includes efforts to discredit America in Europe, either as an unreliable ally or as a dangerous international adventurer.

The aim is to play off one side of the transatlantic community against the other and to undermine the deterrent strategy.

Yet those who, like Chancellor Kohl, say Moscow wants political victory in nuclear peace, thereby calling a spade a spade, are dismissed by many in both Europe and the United States as cold warriors.

The Soviet Union has hitherto seen Latin America, with special exception of Cuba, as a region in which Moscow has no particular interest. But Moscow would stand to benefit from the United States dissipating its energies in Central America.

It would be interested in the Central America debate in the United States being conducted more vehemently. It would be interested in an increase in isolationist sentiment in the United States; that might give Moscow greater political room to manoeuvre in Europe and the Middle East.

Fidel Castro's perspective is somewhat different. He has stronger and closer ties with revolution in Latin America. Yet since the intervention by the United States and the Eastern Caribbean states in Grenada Cuba has grown more keenly aware of its precarious geographical position.

It has told its Sandinista friends in no uncertain terms that if the worst comes to the worst they need not expect Cuba to lend them military support.

Cuba nonetheless retains a substantial military and civilian presence in Nicaragua and it is clear that the Cuban military presence is intended to discourage and complicate US contingency planning for overt military intervention in Central America.

It is also intended to intimidate Nicaragua's militarily weak neighbours and to strengthen the political and logistical base for guerrilla activities in El Salvador.

Where do Bonn's interests lie? The Federal Republic, Herr Mertes says, has the closest economic ties with Central America of all European Community countries. At the same time it relies for its security solely on the deterrent capability of the West.

That is why it can only do justice to its responsibility by pursuing an active policy toward Central America.

Within the European Community the Federal Republic is the five Central American countries' foremost trading partner. In 1983/84 it exported goods worth DM128m to these countries and imported goods worth DM213m.

Germany has traditionally imported more from the Central American countries than it has exported to them. The Federal Republic alone accounts for more than 10 per cent of the exports of several of them.

In recent years the European Community countries have sought to establish and maintain a dialogue with Latin America.

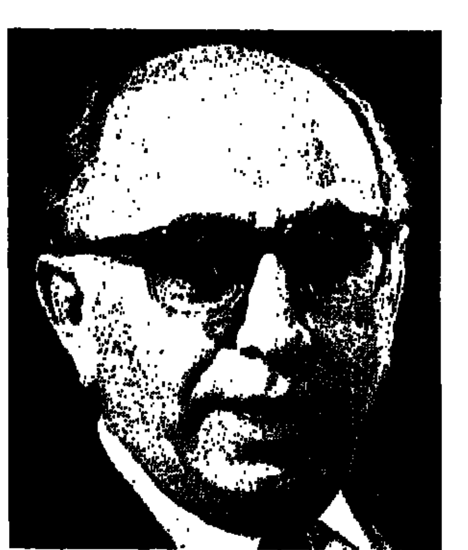
Closer cooperation has been agreed with the Andes pact. Talks have been held with the countries of the Rio de la Plata basin. There are ties between Sela, the Latin American Economic System, and the European Community.

The war between Britain and Argentina over the Falklands temporarily clouded relations. The 1981 Franco-Mexican declaration on El Salvador (supporting the revolutionaries) was criticised even by France's European allies for its tenor.

Since July 1983 there has been the Stuttgart Declaration by the Ten in which the European Community is said to be convinced that Central America's problems cannot be solved by military means, only by political ones.

The September 1984 San José conference was but an interim climax of European endeavours to contribute actively toward a policy of settling regional conflicts in Central America.

The European Community would like as soon as possible to hold talks on a cooperation agreement with the Central American states. Cooperation is intended as a contribution toward eliminating the



Alois Mertes . . . ideas in essays. (Photo: Sven Simon)

more deep-seated causes of conflict in the region, causes attributable to economic backwardness and political tyranny.

This year the European Community's budget includes an allocation of $50m toward further cooperation.

The legacy of the past weighs heavily on Central America. Until recently the traditional alliance between the oligarchy and the military predominated, but the struggle for political change is frequently accompanied by strong anti-Americanism.

Herr Mertes calls to mind President Reagan's words in a 1982 speech. "Yes," the US President said, "we have behaved arrogantly and impatiently toward our neighbours. This has left scars.

"But they help us today to identify with the struggle for political and economic development in other countries in the hemisphere."

The CDU and CSU have difficulty in explaining to fellow-Christian Democrats in Latin America that equidistance from the superpowers is inappropriate.

As the Latin Americans need US assistance this attitude means that they say one thing at home and another abroad.

Anyway, the West's credibility is at stake in several ways in Central America. It must, for instance, show Latin America it doesn't primarily support the traditional power elites.

The United States will only retain credibility as the leader of the West if it prevents, by a combination of long-term diplomacy and economic aid plus credible military deterrence, the Soviet Union from extending its geostrategic sphere of influence to Latin America by exploiting internal conflicts.

A joint Western position arrived at freely would help to strengthen the West's credibility all over the world.

"It would be disastrous," Herr Mertes says, "if we Europeans were to be in favour of East-West dialogue but incapable of friendly dialogue with our main ally."

On the other hand the countries of Western Europe must demonstrate their credibility to Central America by making material and political contributions of their own toward remedying economic and social grievances.

European verbalism is of no assistance; it can only lead to North Americans feeling embittered, Central Americans feeling disappointed and both Cubans and Russians feeling encouraged.

Priority must be given to avoiding situations in which the only choice the US has is between losing credibility as the leading power of the North Atlantic pact and embarking on military intervention.

"We Europeans must . . . contribute . . . toward ensuring that our main ally is not manoeuvred into such a position."

Robert Held

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 March 1985)

■ LABOUR

Why more than two million workers are on the dole

Unemployment increased sharply in West Germany over the winter months.

In December it was 2.33 Million. By January, it had risen to 2.62 million and by February had settled back to 2.61 million.

Bad weather alone is not enough to explain the change, although it is true that many people who work outside were unable to.

However, there has been an upswing in many industries, so shouldn't this have compensated?

It is not as easy as that. For example, in the electrical goods/electronics industry, Siemens is building up its labour force while Grundig is preparing for heavy cutbacks.

The upswing is so far only for specialists. The loss of jobs is not spread evenly throughout the economy, and concerns mainly structural changes in industry.

This is shown clearly by the number of unemployed and the number of jobs to be filled.

In 1960 the Federal Republic had 271,000 unemployed. Now it is about two million more. And over these 25 years, the size of the workforce has not declined by a corresponding amount.

There were in fact 1.7 million more salary and wage earners in 1984 than in 1960 — 22 million compared with 20.3 million.

In 1980 there were 23 million jobs. Since then one million have disappeared. But in the same period the number of unemployed has increased sharply, by 1.4 million.

But not as many jobs have gone as might be thought at first glance. This is because there are now more people than ever looking for work.

The high birth-rate years are taking effect on the labour market.

At the same time, the generation that is going into retirement is that reduced because of the war. Therefore their absence is not creating a great number of jobs.

This demographic development alone does not explain, of course, the high average unemployment figure of 2.3 million over the past few years.

There are some sectors of trade and industry that have drastically reduced the number employed. Others have got off lightly, and others have increased their employed figure.

The public service has expanded a lot. It has 2.8 million wage and salary earners compared with 1.8 in 1960.

But the increase is not across the board. The Bundesbahn, for example, 174,000 fewer employees than in 1960 while Bundespost has 72,000 more.

Industry has obviously been in the group that has cut back on jobs. There are currently about 1.2 million fewer employed in industry than in 1960. Compared against peak year 1970 a total of 1.9 million jobs have now gone. Since then there has been a constant decline in the number employed in industry. The curve on the employed graph has shown a slight turn upwards in 1979 and 1980.

There must be reasons why, since 1970, jobs in industry have decreased. Some sectors of industry have, indeed, had structural problems, but this alone does not explain the dramatic decline in jobs.

A much more important reason may be the steep increase in wages. There was a considerable increase in wages and salaries paid in 1970 — about DM21 billion. There was never an annual increase of this order before.

What is much more revealing is the relationship of wages and salaries to total turnover in industry. In 1960 personnel costs, that in no way represented all expenses incurred for personnel, were 19 per cent of turnover. There was a slight increase each year in the 1960s and by 1969 the figure was 22.3 per cent.

In 1970 there was a jump upwards to almost 24 per cent. Wage and salary costs have since then climbed considerably and regularly and reached 24.9 per cent in 1973 and 1975.

This development has obviously forced many companies into a serious costs dilemma. In order to survive this has resulted in considerable rationalisation and automation, which brought in its train a reduction of the wages and salaries proportion of turnover to twenty per cent in 1983.

In the course of this process, however, 1.9 million jobs were lost and 14,000 firms went to the wall, carried away in the spate of bankruptcies.

If industry were to employ now as many people as it did in 1970 the total wages and salaries bill in 1983 would not be DM257 billion but DM331 billion. Since 1960 the bill would not have increased 5.3 times but almost seven times. Over the same period industry's turnover has increased five times.

The 1.9 million job loss in industry since 1970 has not been spread evenly over all sectors. Some industries were better able to cope with the costs increase than others, because the change in demand was to the advantage of some and to the financial embarrassment of others.

This is made clear today by the crises in mining, the steel industry, shipbuilding, the textiles and clothing industries, and now agriculture. In these six sectors alone, calculated from the peak over the past 25 years, 1.5 million jobs have gone. There are four major industrial sectors where the total workforce has increased by almost 600,000. These are engineering, electro-industries, the automobile industry and chemicals.

These four now give work to almost a half of all in West Germany who are employed in industry. In 1960 these four employed only about a third of the total.

There has been the same development as regards share of turnover for these lead industries. Unlike the crisis industries their share of the labour force has dropped from 35 to 27 per cent and by turnover from 26 to 16 per cent.

The change of emphasis is clear, although the pressure to rationalise was just as fierce among the expanding sectors of industry. They also do not employ as many as in previous peak years.

The highest employment figure in the chemicals and engineering industries was 1970, in electro-industries it was 1973 and in the car industry 1980. Compared with these peak employment years the four lead industries have lost approximately half a million jobs.

A close examination shows that even throughout these sectors there have been varying developments. This is particularly noticeable among the 35 specialist branches of the engineering industry.

A comparison of the value of production with production in the branch as a whole shows that the office and information technology sector could increase its proportion of production from 3.3 per cent in 1960 to 9.1 per cent in 1983.

In the same period knitwear and clothing machinery production fell from 1.5 to 0.6 per cent, and the mining equipment sector from 3.4 to 2.4 per cent.

There was an even greater drop in production proportion in agricultural machinery over the same period from 12.1 to 7.5 per cent.

There were considerable differences between large and small companies. In the crisis years large companies and concerns strove energetically to make adjustments.

A firm like Siemens, for instance, lost 31,000 work places during 1980 to 1983, of which 23,000 involved domestic operations.

Only in the year past were six thousand people taken on and this labour force expansion will continue this year.

The branch leader in the steel industry, Thyssen AG, has disposed of precisely 16,600 jobs since 1979/1980.

The companies employing tradesmen show that among the small firms there was a less rigorous reduction in the labour force. Compared with the peak employment figures, the years 1970 and 1971, there has been a drop of ten per cent. That is not half so much as in industry.

In the good times, however, the small firms and companies are slower to take on people.

Kurt Döring

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 8 March 1985)

Unemployment causes health problems

Unemployment can causes illness, according to a study commissioned for the the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

Statistics show that after the boom among OECD nations ended and mass unemployment arrived, there has been an increase in the amount of physical illness and depression and an increase in suicides.

American social scientist N.H. Brenner has computerised information from the OECD countries.

This reveals that in societies where mass unemployment lasts for more than five years, the incidence of deaths from general illness and heart attack increases significantly. So does the number of people needing psychiatric treatment.

This abstract computer projection has been confirmed by practical results. In Britain, researchers selected 22 families with unemployed breadwinners and watched them for a year.

They questioned them twice, first six months after becoming unemployed and then again after 12 months.

Not only did the breadwinner's health deteriorate drastically but also the health of the family members.

Many got deep depression and took too many sleeping and anti-depressive tablets. Others went for psychiatric treatment.

In many cases, doctors did not know that the patient was unemployed.

Remarkably, many children showed signs of serious breakdowns in relationships, a deteriorating performance at school and criminal inclinations.

The ILO survey shows that unemployed in the OECD nations have more stomach ulcers, headaches, heart problems, higher blood pressure, more cholesterol in their blood and higher uric acid ratings than the rest of the population.

The number of suicides and depression cases and those with ailments such as asthma and migraine were particularly high in Britain, America and West Germany.

On the other hand most of the unemployed in France and Belgium complained more of physical symptoms.

The researchers were unable to explain why, the first survey of unemployed sickness symptoms was done in the Depression of the 1930s.

Then harm to health was caused mainly by hunger and cold.

The present study shows that there are three phases in the reaction to becoming unemployed.

The first is shock and incredulity. This quickly turns into a kind of holiday mood.

The jobless are at first covered by social security benefits and savings. Social contacts remain. Privately the unemployed person devotes himself to all those things that had been neglected because of having to go to work.

The crisis comes in the second phase. Money is short. All attempts to get another job fail. Previous contacts through the job fall by the wayside.

At home all the wallpapering, repairs and improvements have been done. This is the phase in which unemployment is "emotionalised". The unemployed person becomes emotional, excitable and unbalanced.

The third phase is the most dangerous and occurs on average between 18 months and two years of being unemployed.

The unemployed person becomes resigned, comes to terms with destiny. There is a flight inwards — it is an unconscious "flight illness".

There are fewer contacts with people outside. Life is reduced to the home, the television and introspective contemplation of one's own problems.

Those who are most susceptible to the illness symptoms of unemployment are those who have the least hope of getting a job again, the unemployed between 50 and 60, invalids, school dropouts, teachers and students who have never had employment, and, mainly in the USA, members of ethnic minorities.

In many parts of Europe, every fourth family is affected by long-term unemployment. For example, in the Ruhr, in northern France, in the British mining areas and above all in Belgium.

According to the ILO the conditions of young people are particularly dr

Continued on page 8

■ BUSINESS

Daimler-Benz buys up big aero-engine maker

Daimler-Benz is paying about 650 million marks to become the 100 per cent owner of MTU, one of the largest aero-engine makers in the world. Daimler already holds 50 per cent of the share capital of Motoren- und Turbinen-Union GmbH (MTU). It is buying the remaining 50 per cent from Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN). The nominal value of MTU's total share capital is DM156.6m. The deal has yet to be approved by the supervisory boards of both companies and by the Monopolies Commission.

Originally, MTU was the aero-engine division of BMW, the Munich car maker.

By a twist of fate, MTU is now to be wholly taken over by BMW's arch rivals, Daimler-Benz.

MAN, which is selling its 50 per cent interest, has been up against it for three years and has no choice but to sell.

Daimler-Benz, by contrast, is financially well-off. It will be paying about DM650m to become 100-per-cent owner of the sixth-largest aero engine company in the West, a firm associated in a variety of consortia with most international programmes.

In Stuttgart the Daimler-Benz board must be delighted that the three-pointed Mercedes star has regained the meaning it once signified: that of pre-eminence on land, sea and air.

Daimler-Benz will feel they are merely reviving a longstanding tradition (but one neglected since the war). Daimler engines used to power airships and planes.

MTU, founded in 1969, has a variety of antecedents, but its main line of descent goes back to Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW), founded in 1916 and initially specialising in aero engines.

BMW cars were a later development, but the aero engine division was given a separate corporate identity in 1934 to limit the influence of the Nazis. After the war BMW found the going slow and arduous and was late to return to the carmaking fold. But the Munich firm had not forgotten its aero engine past and had no intention of abandoning it for good.

When the Federal Republic of Germany regained control of its air space the BMW aero engine division was reactivated and relaunched as BMW Triebwerkbau in 1957.

Its beginnings were extremely modest, but they proved a lifesaver for BMW when the parent company went through a sticky patch in 1959.

BMW were unable to sell their up-market saloons made far too expensively and their outdated coupé models. There were plans to sell out to Daimler-Benz.

But they encountered unexpectedly stiff opposition from shareholders, and a race began to wrest control over the aero engine subsidiary, which was in line for a major order from Bonn: to manufacture under licence engines for the Luftwaffe's Lockheed Starfighter.

Bavaria's Franz Josef Strauss was Defence Minister in Bonn at the time and still likes to tell the tale of his part in the BMW rescue operations.

Bidders for the aero engine subsidiary were MAN, which in those days was a moneyspinner, and General Electric, the US corporation.

MAN made the running, paying DM17m for a 50-per-cent stake and standing BMW a long-term low-interest loan of DM20m.

So MAN was largely instrumental in getting BMW back off the ground. In 1965 MAN bought the remainder of BMW Triebwerkbau for DM53m. By then the aero engine subsidiary had a turnover of roughly DM300m.

Three years later MAN and Daimler-Benz merged MAN Turbo, as the Munich division was now known, and Maybach Mercedes-Benz Motorenbau GmbH of Friedrichshafen.

The joint firm, MTU, had two divisions: aero engines in Munich and diesels in Friedrichshafen.

Last year MTU had a payroll of 12,250 and a turnover of roughly DM2.15bn.

Klaus Götte, the chief executive of MAN's parent company, GHH in Oberhausen, will have been loath to sell the MTU holding. Anyone would.

He insists that there is no connection between the sale of MTU and the MAN salvage operation. MAN has reported losses totalling DM550m over the past two financial years and sacked 10,000 of an erstwhile payroll of 44,000.

Regardless whether there is a direct link between the two events, Daimler-Benz would never have been offered the other half of MTU's share capital if MAN had not been in deep trouble.

MAN urgently needs long-term funds to shore up the salvage operation. The DM650m Daimler are paying for MTU will be a welcome shot in the arm, especially as it takes a further burden off MAN's hands.

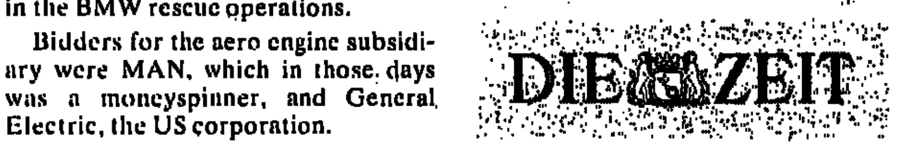
MTU's DM156.6m in share capital is no longer enough. Before long the firm will need more.

Business is growing steadily tougher for it and its Friedrichshafen works.

If there are to be no lay-offs in Munich as the Tornado multi-role combat aircraft programme is phased out, civil aviation contracts will need to be stepped up from 22 to over 50 per cent of output by 1989.

Or so says Hans Dinger, deputy chief executive and acting successor to the late Ernst Zimmermann.

The Friedrichshafen works are hit by surplus capacity in the diesel en-



gine market and a tendency toward market saturation.

Once it is no longer hamstrung by MAN with its shortage of cash, Daimler-Benz can bankroll MTU's future more generously.

Could MAN have sold their share in MTU to anyone else for a better price? Yes, but the question is only theoretical.

Harry Gray of United Technologies, of which Pratt & Whitney is a subsidiary, would gladly have made an offer. Pratt & Whitney, the largest aero engine firm in the world, collaborate closely with MTU in Munich.

But Daimler-Benz had first option to buy out the MAN shareholding. Besides, commercial vehicles are still the largest and most important division of MAN, so MAN continues to rely on Daimler-Benz cooperation and goodwill.

Hermann Bössenecker

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 1 March 1985)

Automation hits the poorer countries

Highly automated manufacturing techniques are making it possible for an increasing number of firms to switch production facilities from poor countries back to the home country.

Helmut Lohr, chief executive of ITT subidiary Standard Elektrik Lorenz (SEL), has announced that German ITT turnover will increase by 60 per cent by 1989.

A main reason is that part of the production process will be retrieved from countries with low wages.

Whether that would mean an increase in the German payroll was another matter. Herr Lohr was very doubtful.

The phenomenon is nothing new. US electronics manufacturers forecast five years ago that both microchips and finished computers would one day be assembled automatically, making it just as easy to make them in the United States as in the Far East.

Low-wage countries in the Far East and elsewhere are where electronics firms farm out time-consuming, labour-intensive precision engineering handiwork.

These are parts of the world where labour bills don't yet make up the lion's share of production costs. European companies, such as Siemens and Philips, also use them.

But the trend back to domestic production is now in full swing. Components, groups and even entire cut-price computers and word processors are being made again in America, Germany and Italy.

When Grundig in Fürth, Bavaria, announce that most layoffs will be abroad, it is for much the same reason.

The homecoming is not limited to electronics. The household equipment division of AEG in Nuremberg recently announced the impending closure of its last production facilities in Italy.

An entirely different industry, textiles, can even claim to have fought back and retrieved from the low-wage countries product sectors long felt to have been lost to cut-price competition.

The reason is identical. Electronics has resulted in completely new and highly automated production techniques that reduce the role of labour

Continued on page 8

FINANCE

Stay out of technology race, Germany urged

West Germany should avoid becoming involved in a suicidal technology race with Japan and America, says Jörg Becker, a Marburg University lecturer. In this article for *Frankfurter Rundschau*, he proposes a strategy which he says covers the "independent and long-term interests of a middle-rank industrial state such as the Federal Republic."

It is a truism to say that the West German economy is export-oriented. A discussion of high technology such as microprocessing, information technology and bio-technology does not make much sense when limited to national aspects.

Therefore the argument that it is a matter of survival for West Germany to put emphasis on exports does not improve matters, even when persistently repeated.

On the one hand the increasing export surpluses have made West Germany's foreign trade vulnerable, just as the current development of the increase in the value of the dollar through speculation has done. On the other hand the domestic market was neglected.

A stronger involvement of West German industry in the domestic market would not only have the advantage of reducing dependence on markets abroad, but it would contribute to the production of tractable and socially adjusted modern technology.

Then parallel to the USA and Japan forces are championed that oblige the new technology to follow paths that are more socially acceptable.

Such products, tested for their social acceptance, would certainly find a place on world markets. These manufctures would be a deliberate counterpart in quality to other manufactures on international markets.

Any discussion on foreign trade policies in connection with information and communications technology is meaningless without taking into consideration IBM and, of course, the USA.

No government and no computer manufacturer can afford to ignore IBM. The company's budget alone for semiconductor chips exceeds the gross national product of many Third World countries.

Bearing in mind the IBM and US importance, the foreign trade discussion is limited to a comparison with Japan, because the Japanese example is currently used favouring the unimpeded expansion of information and communications technology.

This is emphasised, for instance, in the Bonn government's report on information technology of 4 February 1984. The report's analysis was reduced to the statement that there was a technology gap between Japan and America on one side and the Federal Republic on the other.

As a consequence it was suggested that the strategy should be to press for the expansion of information and communications technology and so reduce this gap.

This analysis and this strategy is impossible of achievement and false. In the long-term such a policy would harm West German interests.The following should be borne in mind. The Japanese economy is different from the West German economy in many features. Measured in income per head of population Japan is currently as "poor" as West Germany was in the 1960s, and the present impressive growth rate of the Japanese was the rate then in West Germany.

Japan's international trading successes concentrate mainly on mass production.

This emphasis, along with the fact that the number of manufacturing licences issued by the Japanese is far fewer than the West German figure, show that broadly speaking the Japanese do not have the leading economic and technical role that is generally assumed.

Despite successes on world markets Japan's industry is more intensely geared to the domestic market than to markets overseas. Japan's exports represent 13.5 per cent of the country's total production, but West Germany's are 26.7 per cent. Japan's success with information and communications technology on world markets is limited to a narrow range of products, for instance leisure electronics, West German exports of lighting technology, household appliances, electro-medicine or data technology are far greater than Japan's.

In 1981 the West German share of the world's electro-medicine equipment market was 21:5 per cent, but Japanese competitors only picked up a 7.5 per cent share.

West Germany's export share of data processing units was twelve per cent against Japan's 6.3 per cent.

But Japan is superior to the Federal Republic in micro-electronics as regards technology and world market share.

In short, West Germany's product range of industrial exports in the information and communications technology sector is very much more diversified than Japan's.

This means that Japan's emphasis on domestic markets makes international competition between Japan and the Federal Republic less intense than is generally assumed.

Although Japanese information technology concerns such as Fujitsu, Nippon Electric or Hitachi are names that are very much in the public eye, the Japanese information industry is more markedly "small business" oriented than in West Germany or America.

For instance, in Japan 70 per cent of industrial production is achieved by small to medium-sized companies. In America it is four per cent.

The same is true in comparison with

Frankfurter Rundschau

West Germany. In Japan 75 per cent of industrial turnover is achieved in companies employing less than 1,000 and 86 per cent of those working in industry are in companies of this size. In West Germany the figures are 44 and 49 per cent respectively.

Similarly technology research promotion in small and medium-sized companies via the West German government is adverse. Ten large organisations received 60 per cent of funds allocated for reseaarch by the Research and Technology Ministry between 1973 and 1982. Siemens was handed 25 per cent of the total.The current "Japan example" that is so comprehensible "omits" the following factors: Japan allocates 3.4 per cent of its gross national product for environmental protection, more than any other country, and only 0.98 per cent of the gross national product for defence, less than the member countries of Nato.

In other words Japan's success with modern technology is achieved by giving priority to extending a constructive civil infrastructure rather than giving priority to the extension of a destructive military structure, as is done in the US.

These uncomfortable arguments have the following consequences for West Germany: If the country wants to strengthen its foreign trade position then the bost way to do it is to reduce military spending. But there are no signs of this happening at the present. The government report on information technology, already mentioned, discusses interestingly enough its value in military technology.

Finally Japan's success with modern technology can only adequately be understood with regard to the background of a concensus-oriented "society of cells) as opposed to the individual free-market-economy society of the West.

Industrial management rationale is always anchored in the national economy rationale. The structures within Japan that create this situation, that can be called the consensus society between employers and employees, could not be transplanted to West Germany and is not desirable.

We can learn, however, the principle that an industrial management rationale based on the individual should be forsaken to make way for a general economic rationale and long-term policies.

A generalisation can be made from the various Japan examples. An exaggerated West German foreign trade policy for information and communications technology is not possible. Quite contrary to popular economic opinion the Federal Republic would do well, in the country's best interests, to avoid the suicidal technology race between the USA and Japan.West Germany's foreign trade policies must get out of this race that cannot be won, and develop a good strategy of a state in second place rather than a state in a continuously deteriorating first position.

Canada is a good example here. On the one hand the country tries to set up a certain degree of protectionism against the United States as regards new technology, whilst on the other hand applying normal standards of international trade in other relationships.

This strategy would have positive effects in the medium and long-term in relations between West Germany and the countries of the Third World.

Changed American foreign policy has resulted in a new kind of consensus between the Third World and West Europe that is already apparent.

The USA and Europe have hardly any common viewpoint in energy policies. America has to import only three per cent of its crude oil requirement from the Gulf states whereas Western Europe has to import 28 per cent.

The "star wars" concept has divided Europeans from the USA, since the Europeans fear that they could be robbed of their protective shield by this concept.

Europeans are divided from the Americans in Central America policies, where the Americans are pursuing "gunboat" diplomacy.

There is more disagreement than agreement between Europe and America as regards high technology. America has increased the obstacles in the way of transferring high technology to Eastern Europe and has, in fact, cut back as regards Europe.

John Diebold, president of the Diebold industrial consultancy organisation, made a comment in 1966 about the technological gap between Europe and the USA. He said: "The expression technological gap is wrong. The real trouble in Europe is management and finance inadequacy, ageing training systems, social immobility and political barriers. The consequences of this situation are cause for concern." His view is still valid.

Jörg Becker

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 March 1985)

Continued from page 6

matic. They find themselves in this stranglehold of new poverty without any chance of being able to lead a "normal" life, in the social meaning of that word.

And this is the case, the ILO prognosis points out, when the young people who are today hard hit by unemployment will make up the labour force of tomorrow.

The English-language study was presented in Geneva by the ILO with particular concern.

According to the ILO it is absurd that so many unemployed blindly surrender to a destiny which millions of people have experienced.

Nevertheless not only the unemployed but society as a whole can learn something here. At a time when in the European Community alone 50 per cent of young people are without hope of getting a job, the attitude that only those who work enjoy respect is no longer be maintained.

Marion Lorenz

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 24 February 1985)

Continued from page 7

costs even in countries where wage bills are high.

This is because automation is so advanced that computers and robots almost have the action all to themselves.

Several side-effects of this breakthrough in automation spring to mind:

- As a rule it triggers a tremendous increase in capacity.
- It requires a heavy capital investment that is a powerful incentive to aim at putting capacity to maximum use.
- Manpower requirements may be reduced, but as a rule much more highly qualified staff are needed than for conventional manufacturing techniques.

The signs are that production will be concentrated in a handful of locations, preferably in industrialised countries because skilled manpower is needed (and feasibly so because wage costs are no longer such a crippling burden). At first glance this may seem to be good news, bearing in mind how much capacity has either been farmed out overseas or been taken over entirely by low-cost manufacturers.

But on closer scrutiny pleasure may be felt to be premature. New production techniques are definitely job-killers, for one. Even if jobs are reimported to Germany they will disappear in the low-wage countries.

That is a trend we must not view complacently. If unemployment is exported from industrialised to threshold countries, the developed world will be expected to shore up the rest even more strenuously.

Timely consideration needs to be given to how to cope with this trend.

Joachim Weber

(Die Welt, Bonn, 22 February 1985)

ARCHITECTURE

Trying to put some feeling into functionalism

Swiss architect Rolf Keller pilloried what he called the chaotic lack of form in modern town planning in 1973 in a lavishly-illustrated book entitled Architecture as Environmental Destruction. He depicted everyday scenes of high-rise concrete boxes separated by what is [illegible] known as "sanitary green." They were, he said, monotonous, uncomfortable, stables for the masses, dormitories designed and built "without love, feeling or commitment, solely to function and to earn a profit." Is architecture now turning a new leaf? Are we learning from past mistakes? What do slogans such as "ecological architecture," "buildings with a heart" and "architecture for people" stand for? Are we witnessing the renaissance of architecture with a human face?

Functionalism has been the hallmark of architecture for the past 50 years. Entire suburbs were designed on the drawing-board to be built as fast and as inexpensively as possible.

The result was containerised high-rise housing, with one block often indistinguishable from the next other than by the number on the wall.

The open spaces between blocks have an equally sterile look about them, and people seem unable to put them to community use (always assuming they are allowed to walk on the grass).

So much for functionalism. The worst feature of functional post-war architecture and town planning is that it fosters social isolation, for which the post-war housing shortage is little or no excuse.

High-rise housing estates tend to be dormitory suburbs. Residents commute by car, and at the weekend they drive out into the country.

There is next to nowhere where they can meet locally. There are no squares or quiet corners where anyone would want to while away the time. You always feel you are at the mercy of the elements and way out in the open for all to see.

The drawing-board town planners seem not to have spared a thought for either old people or children. The occasional tubular steel playground or deserted bench appears to have been a mere afterthought.

What makes old towns so interesting is the squares and alleyways, nooks and crannies. Post-war planning seems to have forgotten all about them, and their handiwork is inhospitable as a result.

The architect Rolf Keller has shown it can be done differently. His village estate near Zürich, poetically named Seldwyla after the fictional town where 19th-century Zürich novelist Gottfried Keller based many of his short stories, is a text-book example of regional architecture.

Seldwyla was designed to stay within manageable sizes, to fit into its surroundings, to provide nooks and crannies and to use natural materials such as wood, limestone and clay.

"We wanted to get out of the lifeless high-rise silos and desolate housing estates," he said. "We were looking for something human, a way of building that can be felt, gives warmth, with which you can identify and which has a distinctive personality."

Seldwyla is fascinating for its wide variety of designs that are given a uniform appearance by using identical building materials, thereby avoiding both monotony and chaos, the two extremes of modern architecture Keller so trenchantly criticises.

In Seldwyla you feel safe and at home even outside. Houses are not strung together like identical beads on a string or links of a chain.

They are jumbled together and linked by narrow alleyways that wend their way round the estate. There are open spaces and nooks and crannies, separated by walls, staircases and gardens.

You are never allowed to forget that the estate is built on a hillside. There is no asphalt or paving, only cinder and clay. The walls are lined with grass and climbing plants; trees and bushes grow freely and not just in pots.

There are trellises and arbours, places that invite you to sit down for a while. Cars are banned; their place is strictly in the underground car park. Children can play wherever they like without being in danger of being run over by cars.

Keller's planning concept is equally typical of his new approach to architecture. Planning was left largely to the residents themselves to decide. A cooperative was set up, Keller's basic concept discussed in detail and regulations were agreed.

Architects and builders were to use only red roofing tiles, white plastered walls and clear-varnished wood, thereby giving a natural and attractive order to the wide range of different and distinctive designs.

It may be fair to object that Seldwlya was built for up-market families who could afford to pay for comfort and good looks, as architectural critic Peter M. Bode put it.

But model developments of this kind generate ideas that can be harnessed for use in less expensive projects, given a

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

little initiative (which seems to be a scarce commodity).

In Chriesmatt, a new estate near Zürich, Keller has applied the Seldwyla concept to blocks of rented flats.

Blocks are arranged in groups that surround small squares. There are small gardens to which families can withdraw, just as they can in single-family homes, the only difference being that they are more compact and less separate from each other.

The estate is linked by a network of angular paths and alleyways, with gateways and overhead crossings, with ample greenery and without motor traffic.

M2, part of a Karlsruhe housing development, is another example. Architects Christoph Sattler and Heinz Hilmer arranged their apartment blocks round a large courtyard full of trees and shrubs.

Children can play in the yard with no fear of traffic. Adults can sit on groups of benches surrounded by trees and somehow both shaded and separate.

Glass conservatories and balconies, open to the courtyard, break up the monotony of the walls and ensure variety of both looks and living environment.



Keller's village estate, Seldwyla, near Zürich . . . a feeling of safety inside and out. (Foto: Thomac)

Seldwyla, Chriesmatt and M2 in Karlsruhe are signs of hope: hope that there may be an alternative to uniform high-rise blocks on the one hand and uniform single-family boxes, as Frankfurt psychologist Alexander Mitscherlich called the loveless and unimaginative estates of detached or duplex homes, on the other.

On ecological grounds alone there can be no future for single-family homes on a large scale. Too much nature has already been destroyed by developers. Land is valuable, rational architecture is indispensable.

Sociologists D. J. Amick and F. J. Kviz have conducted a most instructive survey of various kinds of housing from the viewpoint of residents' alienation.

Their main yardstick was the extent to which residents felt they had any influence on conditions in their immediate living environment. Alienation was found to be high among both high-rise and detached housing estate residents.

Alienation was lowest among residents of loosely-arranged yet closely-linked apartment blocks two or three storeys high.

That seems to be the ideal combination: not many storeys but the next block is close by. People get to know each other more easily and to identify with where they live.

When buildings are interlocked rather than arranged at regular but monotonous intervals, residents tend to feel a greater sense of community.

They neither live too close together in cells in a high-rise block nor too far apart in detached homes. An important factor is that there are areas outdoors where people will congregate and feel at their ease.

There is a ready solution to this problem, although it tended to be neglected in many cases during the post-war housing boom. It is the courtyard: open to the sky but enclosed on all sides.

It is a naturally protected and enclosed space. But it has to be properly designed. Many old yards are a gloomy combination of dustbins, potting sheds and garages.

Examples of how they can be redesigned have been provided by a Munich housing study group, *Urbanes Wohnen*, or Urbane Living.

Starting in fashionable Schwabing, back yards of tenement blocks all over Munich have been redesigned and laid out with lawns, flower beds, kitchen gardens, children's playgrounds and benches for adults.

Grey has been transformed into green and the open-air area is now much more readily and extensively used by residents. Parties are held in the yards, and even concerts and poetry readings.

Architect Manfred Drum, a founder-member of the Munich group, refers in this context to areas of a semi-private nature. Individual yards are self-enclosed to convey an intimate atmosphere yet are still linked to the garden next door, which is particularly important for children playing games.

New architecture is also a matter of caring more for existing buildings and modernising rather than demolishing and rebuilding.

Yet courtyards have been rediscovered even in new housing developments: both in Karlsruhe and in Almere, an exemplary new development north-east of Amsterdam, they are a major design feature.

Roads closed to motor traffic are another means of giving housing estates a more intimate atmosphere. Cars are limited to a number of feeder roads and kept away from the immediate environs of where people live.

So children can play to their hearts' content. People can go for walks undisturbed. Trees have room in which to grow.

The result is a varied living environment where residents can feel at home and which they can put to better use. "Housing doesn't end at the front door," Drum says.

Eco-architecture must also be viewed in terms of regionalism. The ecologists' aim is to provide an almost self-supporting system, with energy being generated by solar cells, collectors and windmills.

Solar-heated greenhouses are used to grow vegetables. Humus toilets supply natural fertiliser. Rainwater is collected, filtered and used for washing and bathing.

Grass-clad roofs and walls lined with ivy and vines ensure a healthy climate and provide insulation.

The capital investment may be higher than for conventionally-built homes, but the energy saved more than offsets this extra expense, says Gernot Minke, a bio-home researcher at Kassel University.

It remains to be seen whether the eco-home idea will gain widespread support or remain the stamping ground of a handful of eco-freaks and do-it-yourselfers.

That will depend to a large extent on how important commodity prices and

Continued on page 15

■ LITERATURE

How Little Red Riding Hood found Japan

This year and next, as the birth bicentenary years of the Brothers Grimm, the linguists and fairy-tale collectors, have prompted publishers and filmmakers in both German-speaking countries and further afield to embark on special activities.

Their fairy tales have been translated into 140 languages and printed in millions of copies. Their anniversaries present an opportunity of recalling Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who compiled their collection of almost forgotten folklore nearly 180 years ago.

Foreign writers and journalists apply to the Brothers Grimm Society in Kassel for archive material almost weekly.

The German Tourist Authority has grasped the opportunity of launching a publicity campaign spread over several years and selling Fairy-Tale Germany.

By the end of 1984 it had already taken nearly 40 groups of foreign journalists and travel operators round the Brothers Grimm's home towns and along the German Fairy-Tale Route.

Keen interest in the Grimm anniversaries has been shown in Japan, where the fairy tales are approved reading at school. They were first translated into Japanese in 1887 and have since regularly been reprinted in record print runs.

Official Japanese relations with the works of the Brothers Grimm date back much further than the first translation of their fairy tales.

A Japanese government delegation led by Prince Ise spent several months in Berlin 1862 after Prussia and Japan signed their 1861 treaty. Members of the delegation visited Jacob Grimm and spent several hours talking with him.

In Tokyo a Grimm Bicentennial Planning and Promotion Office has been at work since the beginning of 1982. It soon brought the bicentenary to the attention of book and magazine publishers, broadcasting corporations and filmmakers, musical theatres and department stores.

A Grimm Festival Executive Committee has been set up, with the well-known *Germanist* and Grimm translator Kenji Takahashi as its chairman.

Professor Takahashi is a member of the Japanese Academy of Arts and other members of the committee represent the Academy of Youth Literature, various publishing houses and the Education Ministry.

Its work is lent every encouragement by the cultural affairs department of the German embassy, the Japanese-German chamber of commerce and industry and the Tokyo office of the German Tourist Authority.

An exhibition devised by the Brothers Grimm Society and entitled The Brothers Grimm and Fairy Tales is to tour several Japanese cities between now and the end of 1986.

To mark the beginning of the Grimm bicentenary years the Schaumburg Fairy Tale Singers and the Steinau Fairy Tale Puppet Theatre, who have toured Japan on previous occasions, have been invited to the country for a fortnight.

They will visit the country at the invitation of NHK, the national broadcasting corporation, and leading daily newspapers.

The inaugural ceremony will also be attended by the fairy tale group of the German Fairy Tale Route Association, a tourist body. Their Sleeping Beauty was given widespread publicity on a previous visit.

A Little Red Riding Hood "family" wearing the colourful local costumes of Schwalm, Hesse, will later tour Japan for a week to publicise Germany as a fairy-tale country.

The Grimm Festival Committee plans to hold a an international fairy tale conference soon in conjunction with the German-Japanese Association.

Leading university teachers of German studies in the Federal Republic are to be invited to lecture in Japan in 1985/86. The Nikikai Opera Foundation will be on tour until September with a lavish fairy tale opera that may even tour Europe.

Lectures are being held on subjects such as The Fairy Tale and the Japanese Stage, while painter Zenzo Higuchi has spent a year in Kassel preparing an exhibition to be entitled Fairy Tales and Natural Landscapes.

All over Japan leading publishers are sponsoring competitions on fairy tale literature and illustration.

Commercial TV channels have naturally also been quick to seize on the Brothers Grimm as a popular topic. An initial programme screened in June 1984 was entitled I Love the Brothers Grimm.

It was followed by six Brothers Grimm and Fairy Tale Route productions with a total transmission time of nearly five hours. This summer there will be a 90-minute documentary on the brothers.

Another TV company is sending a woman travel writer to Germany to make three 30-minute films.

For months work has been in progress on what is initially billed as a 32-part series based on the Grimm fairy tales and converted into computer graphics for worldwide marketing along the lines of Heidi and Marco Polo.

As figures in the Grimm fairy tales are extremely well-known, all TV companies are confident their reckoning will be proved right.

They feel sure that fairy tale programmes will be ideal viewing time in which to buy TV advertising spots designed to appeal to children and the family.

Next to no-one in Japan is likely to be upset at the idea of fairy tales or folklore being reflected in fashion.

Japanese designers photographed Hesse and north German half-timbered architecture back in 1981, coming up with colourful geometrical patterns and fairy-tale and other motifs that are used both for children's clothes and for home textiles.

The fairy tale illustrations done by Ludwig Richter and other 19th century illustrators are particularly popular on bedding and curtain material.

Writing blocks, exercise books and the like have also been made more attractive by the addition of fairy-tale motifs.

The Japanese travel industry has also jumped on the bandwaggon, greatly to the Federal Republic of Germany's benefit.

Tour organisers used to stick to the Rhine, to Munich, Rothenburg ob der Tauber and the fairy-tale castles of King Ludwig II of Bavaria.

They have now taken to booking accommodation along the German Fairy Tale Route.

Heinrich Fischer

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 2 March 1985)

Europe and the Arab world: reflections of societies

For centuries, throughout the Middle Ages, cultural relations between Europe and the Arab world were a one-way street.

The Arabs held the keys to civilisation and progress, from technology to literature, and Europeans were amazed when their emissaries returned from an Arab city and related their experiences.

The two civilisations did not begin to parley on equal terms until the early 19th century when translations of Arab literature influenced by the Romantic movement inspired works such as Goethe's *West-Östlicher Diwan* and his concept of world literature.

Rückert and Platen produced verse versions of Arab classics in the mid-19th century. Translation from German into Arabic did not begin until the early years of our own century.

Yet Hölderlin and Rilke, Böll and Barbara Frischmuth are by no means unknown in Egypt or Lebanon, and certainly better known there than Taha Hussain or Yussuf Idris are here.

The first book to be translated from German into Arabic was Goethe's Sorrows of Young Werther. One of the latest is Michael Ende's Never-Ending Story.

Arab translations from the German have become so widespread that clashes may arise. If someone were to start, in Syria today, to translate Günter Grass's novel The Flounder into Arabic he might well run the risk of there being another translator beavering away at the same task in Cairo.

There is a lack of coordination, of comparing notes and of common literature policies, and this can be said of

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

both Arab translators from the German and German translators from the Arabic.

In this state of affairs the Goethe Institute in Cairo seized the initiative in 1983 and invited German and Arab translators to a conference at which they were both to get to know one another and to embark on some degree of coordination.

It was hoped they would coordinate their choice of works for translation, help to develop common publishing policies and share ideas of their own on how to train others to follow in their footsteps.

The Cairo gathering was such a success that it was agreed to hold another one. It was organised by the Berlin Institute of Islamic Studies, which concentrates on contemporary Arabic literature, and by the Literarisches Colloquium.

Translators from nearly all over the Arab world are in Berlin for talks with fellow-translators from the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR.

There seems to be a strong desire for organisation among translators. They clearly do not see their single-combat dealings with powerful publishers are particularly to their advantage.

Fuad Rifka from the Lebanon, one of the foremost Arabic translators of Rilke, went furthest in calling for a German-Arab translators' committee to hire translators and negotiate terms with publishers.

But in view of cultural federalism in the Federal Republic and of the existence of two so widely differing German states any such idea seems bound to remain wishful thinking.

Discussions on fundamental problems of translation seemed more to the point. How far can and must the translator interfere with his text?

Is the objective to "make friends" with the "soul" of the text, as one participant put it? Or is the translator merely a technician of textual comprehension whose duty is to keep his own personality out of the text as far as possible?

Arab translators in particular hold virtually mythical views on the role of the translator, whereas the excellent GDR translators took a more sober view based on craftsmanship and stylistic analysis.

Gatherings such as the Berlin conference naturally serve an economic purpose too. Latin American writing sells well in German bookshops, showing that world literature can make money.

Contemporary Arabic literature has yet to make the lists of really high-class and well-known German publishers.

Erdmann in Tübingen, in collaboration with the Institute of Foreign Relations, Stuttgart, have published two fine anthologies, as has the "edition orient" in Berlin, which works in close conjunction with the Institute of Islamic Studies.

Arabic literature can also be bought inexpensively from the lists of London publishers Heinemann, who have a wide-ranging paperback series.

It is well worth browsing through one of these anthologies. You will soon find yourself enthralled and read on. They include fantastic labyrinths such as we have grown accustomed to from the work of Borges.

They also include hard and clear tales of exploitation, underdevelopment and misery. The short story is the major genre, which is partly because books are fairly expensive and newspapers regularly publish short stories.

The dominance of the short story certainly contributes to the fact that Arabic literature has a great deal to say about the complex problems of Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and the Palestinians.

It does so in the form of highly-condensed portrayals of social types that long linger in the memory.

There is the girl who is circumcised by well-meaning but stupid aunts and her tearful mother and only now both body and sexuality have been ruined begins to realise from the older women's gossip what men and women get up to.

There is the water carrier who is buried beneath the ruins of blown-up houses after having seen a motorised water tanker for the first time in his life.

There is the young lawyer who returns to his native village, deals with a longstanding feud by means of an act of submission and is then sent back to the city by the family.

In a high-rise apartment block on the outskirts of the city he ponders over the fact that the liberal ideas he has come across at university stand only for cowardice and disgrace in his beloved native village.

A fleeting glance is enough to show that modern Arabic literature deals mainly with the price paid for progress. Progress in countries where it faces feu-

Continued on page 11

■ FILMS

TV version of U-boat classic hits a chord

Wolfgang Petersen's film, *Das Boot*, (The Boat), which tells the story of a German U-boat's operation in the Atlantic in 1941, has received international acclaim from both critics and the public. The British Broadcasting Press Guild gave it its award for the best foreign film in 1984. *Das Boot* appeared in 1981. It cost 30 million marks, the most expensive German film ever. It is based on a novel of the same name by Lothar-Günther Buchheim which is based on a real U-boat voyage. Buchheim was a propaganda ministry reporter on board U-96. Now an extended version of the film has been shown on German television. More than 20 million people watched the five-hour saga in three episodes which coincided with the build up towards the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the end of the war. It seems to have found a chord in West Germany. It has become a major topic of discussion and the Press has been debating its merits. Has *Das Boot* contributed anything? Is it art? Producer Günter Rohrbach and director Petersen couldn't care less. To them it is a war film and stands on its merit. As a side-show, Buchheim has put together his own documentary about the U-boat war which has also been shown on German television. It comprises film from German, British and American sources plus a commentary by Buchheim himself in which he has much to say about the morals of war, the horrors of war at sea and the attitudes of people running the war. He says grand admiral Karl Dönitz, commander-in-chief of the German navy and architect of the U-boat war, was an "ageing bosun full of gold braid on his sleeve" and "vain beyond description."



Under water, under pressure (Photo: Neue Constantin)

In 1976, when the project to film the book first took shape, it was to be an American production directed by either John Sturges or Don Siegel and featuring Robert Redford as the captain of U-96.

But negotiations between the various production interests and the author failed to reach agreement.

In 1979, an wholly West German production was settled on. It was to be directed by Wolfgang Petersen and was to have an all-German cast including Jürgen Prochow as the commander and, in a minor role, Günter Lamprecht.

The film had its premiere in 1981 and was well-received internationally by critics and public alike.

Those who thought the longer television version would be merely a blown-up overdose were wrong.

It was intentionally released in the middle of various activities commemorating the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. It has become part of those commemorations.

Producer Günter Rohrbach doesn't allow himself to be drawn into any debates about war films and anti-war films.

He says: "*Das Boot* is a film about the war. There is no need to justify it."

And Peterson backed this: "Our film was not concerned with war in the theoretical sense. It tries to draw the audience emotionally into the action.

"We wanted to show how people survived in extreme situations, under terrific nervous stress. How they suffered and were changed by the whole experience."

The film is about a real U-boat operation in the Atlantic between 19 October and 27 December 1941.

U-96 leaves it base in the French Atlantic port of La Rochelle and heads for the open seas and the protected convoys getting supplies through to a Britain under siege.

Das Boot is hit and hits back. It sits deep under the surface under depth-charge bombardment and lives to fight another day. It sinks allied shipping in torpedo attacks.

It runs aground while under attack trying to return to the Atlantic through the Strait of Gibraltar after taking on supplies at a Spanish port in the Mediterranean.

But it comes through it all and gets back to La Rochelle, only to be sunk in an air raid in the port only metres from the safety of the U-boat pens.

Much of the film showed how the crew of 50 overcame their fears through all of this.

The director of the television programme, Heinz Werner Hübner, spoke of the danger of "an infantry-man effect under water" and of the difficulties of portraying on film to those for whom the war was a personal event as well as a sorrowful experience without them coming away with the suspicion that the intention was to glorify war.

In the television version, this is not the case. There is plenty of action. There is the horror of depth charge attacks, a storm that lasts three weeks, torpedo attacks and the escape from enemy destroyers, and the running aground at a depth of 280 metres and the subsequent panic-stricken efforts to free the vessel.

The TV film has enough time to describe the tedium, the routine chores for days and even weeks on end.

When U-96 came across a convoy, the war became reality. After the action, the waiting and the idleness began again and aggression mounted among the crew.

These are at one and the same time the most horrible and the strongest scenes in the film. They reconstruct how, after all the tormenting waiting, contact with the enemy is triumphantly welcomed, giving a sense of relief.

The film did not wallow too long over comradeship when living check by jowl. A trip through the model made to scale of the U 96 built at the Bavaria studios in Munich gives some idea of the claustrophobic feeling on board, but the sense of being enclosed under water is lacking.

This is certainly a professionally-made film, full of excitement. But there are two points that strike the audience.

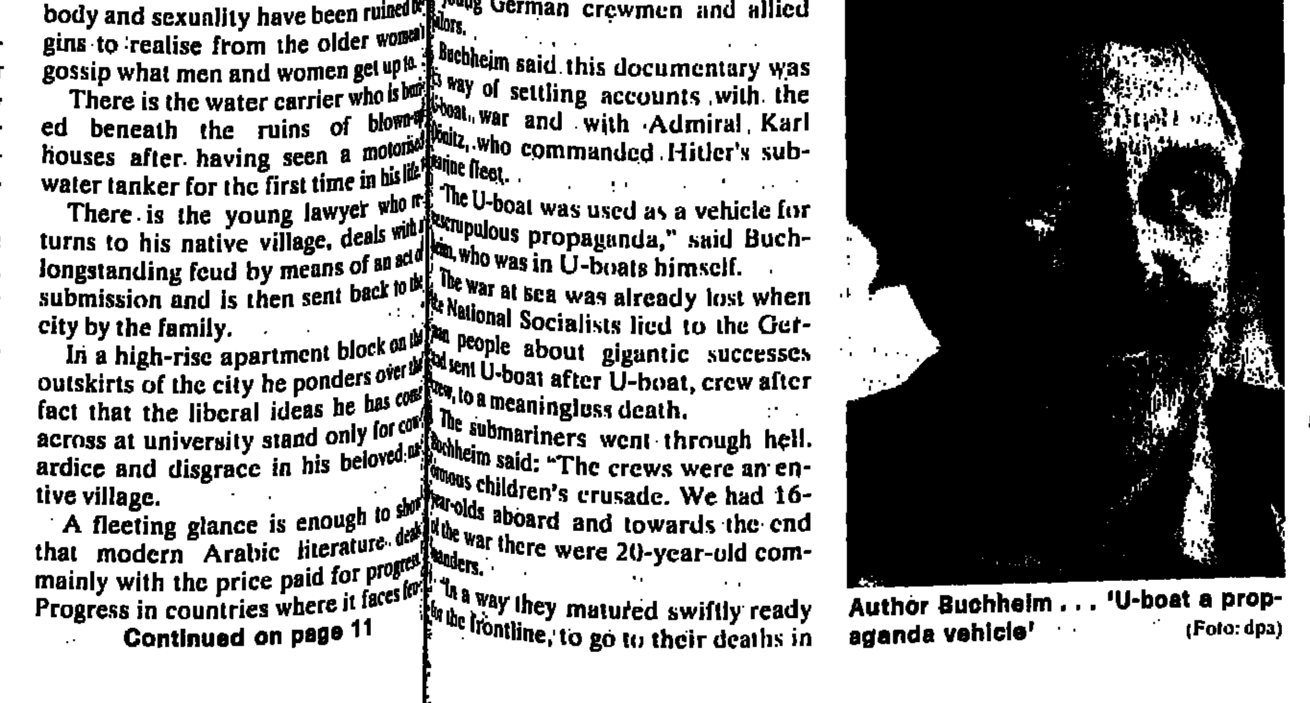
Das Boot shows how young men can be led astray into madness and what inhuman conditions are concealed in such a U-boat.

This the film achieves impressively without being pompous. As a film about war it can be recommended along with its technical realism and the fine performances of its actors.

Hans-Dieter Seidel

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 February 1985)

Author recalls horrors of the war at sea



Author Buchheim . . . 'U-boat a propaganda vehicle' (Foto: dpa)

Sixteen year olds were in U-boat crews in the later stages of the sea war, and young men died like cats in a sack.

These are the words of Lothar-Günther Buchheim, the author of the book *Das Boot*.

In a 90-minute television documentary he used original film material to show viewers how it really was in the North Atlantic — the gruesome deaths of young German crewmen and allied sailors.

Buchheim said this documentary was his way of settling accounts with the U-boat war and with Admiral Karl Dönitz, who commanded Hitler's submarine fleet.

"The U-boat was used as a vehicle for unscrupulous propaganda," said Buchheim, who was in U-boats himself.

The war at sea was already lost when the National Socialists lied to the German people about gigantic successes and sent U-boat after U-boat, crew after crew, to a meaningless death.

The submariners went through hell. Buchheim said: "The crews were an enormous children's crusade. We had 16-year-olds aboard and towards the end of the war there were 20-year-old commanders.

"In a way they matured swiftly ready for the frontline, to go to their deaths in one of the most frightful ways imaginable. Young men drowned like cats in a sack."

German U-boats sank 2,775 allied and neutral ships during the Second World War. On the other hand 782 U-boats were sunk and of 39,000 experienced submariners, 27,000 never returned.

That is the frightful result of the German submarine war in which the naval high command tried to neutralise the allies' reserves.

After initial successes — the monthly rate of sinkings rose from 116,000 gross registered tons in December 1941 to over 700,000 grt in July 1942 — the German U-boats were themselves hunted down by the newly developed radar and sonar technology operated from aeroplanes and ships and destroyed with depth charges.

The German sea war was opened by the sinking without warning of the British passenger liner *Athenia* on 3 September 1939 by the U-30.

Although there were only 21 German U-boats operating in the North Sea and the Atlantic at the outbreak of the war, they sunk the British aircraft carrier *Courageous* and battleship *Royal Oak*.

Hans Wüllenweber/ Werner Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 March 1985)

Continued from page 10

dal structures stands in monstrous contrast with traditional way of life and, above all, of feeling.

The triumphant progress of consumerism and industrialism that we are slowly coming to have our doubts about clearly showed its unacceptable and destructive face soonest at the meeting point between Europe and the Third World.

It is not just an alien civilisation that comes to light. So does a far from flattering reflection of our own.

Stephan Wackwitz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 March 1985)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Tax mooted to stop toss-it-away habit

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

No-deposit, no-return bottles and cans have been on the market for 50 years. They are increasingly popular with consumers in all age groups yet increasingly frowned on by environmentalists.

Legislation is to come into force later this year to call their unimpeded progress to a halt. So much for packaging that has come to symbolise a use once and throw-away society.

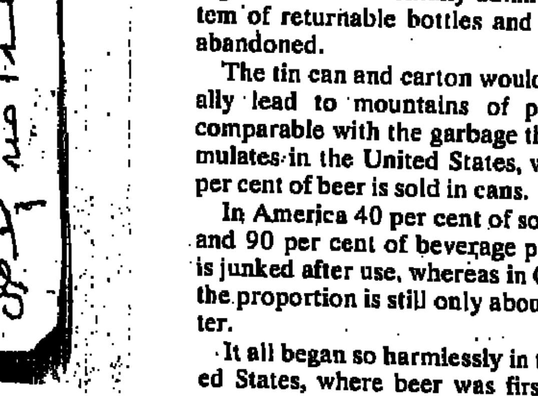
The Bundestag is working on an amendment to the Refuse Disposal Act because more and more Germans are making do with throw-away cans, bottles and jars.

They may be convenient for the consumer, but the Bonn Cabinet has agreed with the Bundesrat on an amendment empowering Bonn to require retailers to charge deposits on all packaging and to sell both throw-away and reusable bottles and cans.

The aim is to kill two birds with one stone. One is to help the environment stay clean. The other is to help the small brewer or soft drinks manufacturer to avoid being caught in a price war led by cut-price cans.

The small fry are afraid, and not without reason, that the major manufacturers may be planning an all-out price war they, the small fry, could not possibly survive.

Even though beer cans are more expensive than reusable bottles, canned beer is often sold for less than the price of beer in returnable bottles and crates at the supermarket.



It is war in all but name, and if the fighting continues it won't be long before the leading manufacturers corner the market and the smoothly functioning and environmentally admirable system of returnable bottles and crates is abandoned.

The tin can and carton would eventually lead to mountains of packaging comparable with the garbage that accumulates in the United States, where 65 per cent of beer is sold in cans.

In America 40 per cent of soft drinks and 90 per cent of beverage packaging is junked after use, whereas in Germany the proportion is still only about a quarter.

It all began so harmlessly in the United States, where beer was first sold in cans 50 years ago. The beer can was invented in the wake of two historic events: Prohibition and the Depression.

Prohibition was abolished in 1933 after having been in force for about 15 years. America was gradually recovering from the Depression too, but Americans had almost forgotten what beer tasted like.

Beer consumption was down 50 per cent, and cans were launched as a means of popularising it again.

They also seemed likely to spell lucrative business for the packaging industry, which would sell a fresh can for every drink sold, as against the reusable bottle.

This motive has clearly come into its own among soft drink manufacturers in Germany too, where the trade is agreed that packaging is the only way to boost sales. But it wasn't all plain sailing. Packaging manufacturers had first to convince breweries that cans would sell (or, indeed, work). It took the Can Co., a pioneering US manufacturer, ages to find a brewer willing to experiment: Krueger's, a small brewery in Richmond, Va. And Krueger's were only willing to go along with the idea because the canning machinery was supplied free of charge for a test run of Krueger's Special Beer in cans.

Canned beer sold like hot cakes within six months even though the first cans were inconvenient. A special opener was needed and it tended to tear holes in trouser pockets.

But the church key soon became a standard item of drinking man's equipment and Krueger's canned beer sales shot up 550 per cent in a mere six months.

That made major US breweries sit up and think. This was a bandwaggon they were not going to miss.

But they were reluctant to invest in expensive canning plant and first experimented with bottle-shaped cans. But the experiment soon failed and they switched over to the cans we still use.

The American canning industry sponsored the new packaging with the largest and most expensive advertising campaign ever launched in the United States for a form of packaging.

Beer cans, they said, weighed less than bottles. They were unbreakable. They took up less room when being transported or in storage.

They weren't affected by sunlight, which so often spoiled sensitive beer. Above all, they didn't have to be washed and returned. No deposit was charged and they could be junked after use.

The can was even more useful for large breweries (although they weren't advertising the fact). They could can surplus beer and ship it more easily and at less expense to new and distant markets.

As a result, small breweries went to the wall. Few could afford canning equipment and many had to call it a day and admit that the newfangled can had got the better of them.

Only 51 major breweries still survive in the United States, and in many areas beer drinkers can no longer choose between bottles and cans. Cans are all they can get.

What is more, there are far fewer brands and varieties of beer on the market.

Many small and medium-sized breweries in Germany now fear it may be their turn next unless the can is brought to a halt. There are still 1,300 breweries in the Federal Republic, but their number is on the decline.

Two years ago many small breweries and soft drink manufacturers joined forces in a pep group designed to popularise the reusable bottle and container.

Their aim is to persuade politicians and the public that cans have their disadvantages and returnable bottles on which a deposit is charged are far from a quaint left-over of a bygone age.

They obviously stand to benefit, of course. If the deposit system is retained they will be in a better position to defend local markets from intrusion by distant but large-scale manufacturers.

Local markets are also neatly sewn-up, with returnable bottles only being distributed and collected within clearly defined areas.

But the can lobby is extremely powerful, as Werner Zielasko, president of the German Beer and Soft Drink Wholesalers Association and chairman of the pep group, is the first to admit.

"Its members include the can manufacturers, the tin industry and a number of retail chains, brewers and soft dri manufacturers," he says.

"They are all determined to convin consumers that cans are the best bet are busy undercutting the price charg for comparable reusable bottles." Y could call it dumping.

Once the price war has been won the deposit system has been elimina consumers will have no choice but buy cans. And the price of canned be is sure to go up; cans unquestiona cost more than reusable bottles.

Haulage costs may be lower wh lightweight cans are shipped acr country, but they too will increase o local manufacturers have gone to t wall and cans are shipped from one of the country to the other.

Consumers will also have to pay the cost of collecting the extra garb that is sure to accumulate.

Canned beer ought already to co more than bottled beer, assuming s ment distances are the same.

The Environmental Protection Ag cy in Berlin says the cost of packagi litre of beer is 68 pfennigs in cans 16 pfennigs in returnable bottles.

So, further assuming the contents cost the same, a litre of canned be ought to be about 50 pfennigs more pensive than beer in bottles. But it is Everywhere, especially in north Ge many, cut-price beer sells at 79 pfenn per half-litre can.

Walter Sprengler of the leading Ge man can company has a ready expla tion to offer. "They're loss leaders retailers push," he says.

Loss leaders or not, "consumers buy cans if they are available chea than reusable bottles even when th are aware of the ecological arguments Herr Zielasko says.

He may well be right. Throw-aw packaging may account for only ab 20 per cent of household garbage, b the overall quantity of garbage is co stantly increasing.

"In terms of garbage by volume," sa the EPA's Jürgen Orlich, "all non-r turnable packaging is a burden on th environment.

"It accounts for up to 50 times mo garbage in terms of volume, due mai to the fact that a returnable bottle is r filled and reused between 50 and 6 times."

The advantage of the bottle with th deposit on it is mainly that it is reu up to 60 times before finally bei junked, whereas the can or non-retur able bottle heads straight from th manufacturer to the retailer to the co sumer to the trash can.

Very few cans are recycled, althou Olaf Oelsen of the tin industry says th

Continued on page 14

(Cartoon: Valerry/Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

The elections

Continued from page 1

that have been lost in the Saar may one day hurt Chancellor Kohl very hard indeed. One gratifying election outcome is the fact that majorities capable of governing have been returned.

Social Democrat Oskar Lafontaine in Saarbrücken may regret not having nominated healthy SPD candidates, but CDU Mayor Eberhard Diepgen in Berlin should have less trouble in future; he can rely on majority support with or without the FDP.

The superficial lesson for the Social Democrats is that under "left-winger" Lafontaine, whose views coincide with many held by the Greens, a majority has proved possible at the polls.

Under "right-winger" Hans Apel, who stressed the difference between SPD and alternatives in Berlin, the Social Democrats fared so badly in the divided city as to poll a percentage almost as low as they might expect to manage in Bavaria.

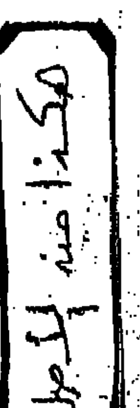
But the SPD would do well to remember that Herr Lafontaine's poll success is due to both his "left-wing renewal" and his tactical skill.

The Greens have been shown there are limits to their voter potential after a period of almost constant growth. This time their services were not required as the tail that wags the dog.

They may have improved their position in Berlin but they remained insignificant in the Saar. Maybe they are already showing signs of wear and tear as they come into their own as an established parliamentary party. After this mid-term round of polls only the Free Democrats can be jubilant. Their political ally Helmut Kohl must view their showing with mixed feelings.

Volker Weise

(Bremer Nachrichten, 11 March 1985)



■ MEDICINE

Not enough being done to relieve chronic pain, doctors told

Frankfurter Rundschau

Treatment of patients suffering from chronic pain is inadequate, a Frank- medical journal, *Ärzte Zeitung*, fined its article about a pain therapy gress held in Frankfurt am Main.

A Frankfurt doctor, T. Flöter, out- d to the congress a variety of reasons this unsatisfactory state of affairs:

- Many doctors have only a sketchy aledge of the mechanics of pain;
- at times they use the known meth- wrongly;
- and they have yet to get used to the of an interdisciplinary approach to problem.

Pain, said Professor Manfred Zim- mann of Heidelberg, ought to be a taught at medical college. Doc- to-be ought to be given a grounding in diagnosis and therapy.

Professor Zimmermann, who is vice- sident of the Pain Association, with bers in the Federal Republic of many, Austria and Switzerland, pro- d to start a course at Heidelberg versity.

Pain is one of the most confusing and lenging problems in biology and cine, said Professor Ronald Mel-

He is a psychologist and head of the arch unit at the pain centre of the treal General Hospital in Canada. book *The Puzzle of Pain* was pu- ed in Britain in 1973.

Pain, he said was so general and so widespread that no-one would be at a loss to describe it in the course of a normal conversation. Yet no research scientist has so far succeeded in satisfactorily defining it.

As a rule pain may signify physical injury, but there are occasions when none is felt even when large areas of the body are seriously hurt.

On other occasions the injured tissue may have healed but the pain continues, assuming the proportion of a serious problem requiring thorough medical attention.

There are many aspects to the puzzle of pain as probed by psychologists, physiologists, anatomists and pharmacologists and, at hospital, by neurologists, neuro-surgeons, anaesthetists and interns.

Clinical observations and research work, behaviour tests and physiological experiments all deal with various aspects of one and the same problem, as does the quest for new drugs.

Pain has emerged as a research subject in its own right and not just a symptom that is paid scant attention and viewed by specialists strictly within their respective terms of reference.

It was, Professor Melzack wrote in 1973, a branch of medical science that had more or less marked time for nearly a century.

It was encouraging to note that headway was now being made and that the subject was being reappraised in the light of fresh disputes and renewed fascination.

His pioneering work (Professor Melzack used to work at a teaching hospital in London too) may have helped to offset the fact that, as Dr Egbert Asshauer told the conference, pain as a scientific discipline is virtually the latest branch of medical research in Europe.

Dr Asshauer is doubtless right on this point. He has worked for the past 15 years as an intern, specialising in gastro-enterology and pain therapy and is co-founder of the North German Pain Conference.

He has written a book, published in Munich last year and entitled *Die Schmerzfibel — Alles über chronische Schmerzen* (The Pain Manual — All About Chronic Pain).

It is written for ordinary readers whose pain has grown so chronic as to become an illness in its own right.

Constant pain can have a destructive effect on the mind, the sense of well-being, on joie de vivre — and Dr Asshauer says an estimated three million people in the Federal Republic of Germany alone live in constant pain.

Dr Flöter noted a further reason why information and advice are so important. Ninety per cent of pain sufferers are out-patients who have spent some time in hospital and have no desire to be sent back.

His book is aimed at helping pain sufferers to learn more about how pain is caused and what part the mind and one's social surroundings play in it. Practical case histories illustrate the problem and comprehensive information on methods of treatment is also listed.

Chronic pain sufferers, Dr Asshauer feels, have a right to know there are not just one or two methods of treatment, such as drugs or surgery, but additional approaches in almost every case.

"He (the patient) must be enabled, with his doctor's assistance, to find a pain specialist. They are usually doctors who work in groups.

"By comparing experiences and providing a wider range of treatment specialists working in groups stand a better chance of treating pain than individual doctors specialising in a single aspect.

"A patient suffering from pain is not a hypochondriac, or imaginary invalid. He must approach his puzzled doctor as an informed patient (but not a know-all).

"As in the case of all chronic complaints a relationship of trust between doctor and patient is the best groundwork for successful treatment."

There are 11 pain centres in the Federal Republic of Germany, plus doctors specialising in pain in most cities and large towns.

Their names and addresses will be supplied on request by local branches of the Medical Council.

The German centres are in Berlin, Bremen, Frankfurt, Göppingen, Hamburg, Hanover, Heidelberg, Mainz, Bad Mergentheim, Minden and Stuttgart.

Heinz Ockhardt

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 February 1985)

More women being hit by depression

Psychoanalysis and behaviour therapy cost the health insurance schemes 70 million marks a year.

This does not include individual items charged by psychiatrists and general medical practitioners.

Sedatives worth a billion marks are prescribed each year, the Tenth West German Psychotherapy Seminar was told in Aachen.

Palpitation of the heart and stomach trouble were not always because of psychiatric problems, delegates were warned.

But depression was certainly on the increase, and the number of women suffering from depression as a complaint seemed to be increasing faster than that of men.

More than 1,000 general practitioners, specialists and psychotherapists dealt in Aachen with the reasons for this phenomenon and what could be done about it.

But no mention was made of the anguish often felt by young women after an abortion or by older women in homes — or, indeed, of the frustration felt by singles who feel they are losing out by not having a partner.

Womanhood Today was the subject dealt with, but it was limited to a handful of typical roles such as mothers who complain of constant tiredness and feel written off now the children are out of the house.

This is a typical instance of depression as felt by women who have worked their fingers to the bone for the family.

Another is that of the working woman who feels depressed because she feels she has to do better at work to compete with the men yet feels somehow guilty for not being a perfect housewife at the same time.

Then there is the older housewife who would gladly share the modern view of a woman's role held by her grown-up daughter but whose husband strenuously defends his traditional role.

Younger women were said to be finding it easier to be more than the "other sex" both at work and in the family, but girls are still taught traditional behaviour.

Older women's frustration is frequently vented in the form of protest. It is mostly levelled at the husband for whom they have "sacrificed the best years of their lives." The resulting clash often endangers marriages.

Yet therapists see anger as a first step on the road out of depression. With medical assistance it can lead to women finding their own feet again.

Patients are seldom prepared to accept that they themselves may be to blame for their depression. They blame their partners.

In public a similar trend is apparent, with mental upsets increasingly being attributed to parental homes or to society in general.

Women, the seminar was told, would do better to abandon established roles and ideas. "Martyrs of the family" were unpopular because they triggered a guilty conscience.

"We do no-one any good by neglecting ourselves," it was noted. Next year the seminar will look into male roles.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 February 1985)

■ FRONTIERS

Altruism or prestige? Why the big wheels of Rotary go round

Rotary was founded 80 years ago in America. The first German club was formed in Hamburg in 1928.

Rotary International is the umbrella organisation for the various 160 national organisations.

It is because of the organisation's international nature that it ran into trouble in Germany.

During the Third Reich, the Nazis believed it was a cover for a dangerous international force just as shrouded in mystery as the free masons.

In 1937, the German Rotary dissolved itself, although some individual clubs here and there did come to terms with the Nazis.

On 24 August, 1937, the Nazi newspaper, *Der Völkische Beobachter*, reported that some Rotary clubs were anxious to adjust themselves to the new age and had hurried to exclude Jewish members.

Rotary (motto: Service above Self) was the idea of a Chicago lawyer, Paul Harris. In 1905, he met with three of his clients, a mining engineer, a tailor and a coal merchant.

They decided to recruit representatives of other businesses and professions.

At first the group rotated its meeting place (hence the name) between members' offices. Later it met in restaurants.

A Rotary club comprises a group of men — women are not eligible — from

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

business and professions who promote community welfare and the advancement of international understanding.

Rotary scholarships are, for example, awarded so students can study in a foreign country.

Since 1979, Rotary International has been running the 3-H programme (health, hunger, humanity) under which 11.5 million dollars has been raised for aid projects in 46 Third World countries to improve health services and develop villages.

By the year 2005, 100 years after its founding, the movement has the giant ambition of being able to immunise all children in the world against poliomyelitis.

In this, the 80th anniversary year, each of the 20,000 German Rotarians is donating 20 marks to pay for a polio vaccine programme in Bolivia.

German Rotary funds send packets to Poland, provide day trips for pensioners, support museums, spruce up children's playgrounds, and assist various groups such as the handicapped, refugees and asylum applicants.

Money is raised so wheelchairs can be donated and incubators given to hospitals and historic monuments restored.

The 500 clubs in West Germany raise about five million marks a year. One member says the money is used to cover the grey zone between health care and welfare that wouldn't otherwise qualify for support.

Rotarians in this country include former Federal President Walter Scheel, actor Martin Held, spectacles maker Rolf Rodenstock, mail-order tycoon Josef Neckermann, chamber singer Hermann Prey, retired general Wolfgang Altenburg and former Bonn cabinet minister Count Otto Lambsdorff.

Critics sometimes say, with a touch of malice, that Rotary is "capitalist compassion." Members are accused of mixing the winning of social prestige with their philanthropy.

Members certainly don't freely admit that membership gives advantages.

Retired headmaster Adolf Klein, head of the North Rhine club, says the highest ethical standards were required of members both in their professional and private lives. Anything that smacked of promotion was regarded as offensive.

Cologne Rotary member, Heinz-Helmut von Hinckeldey, a retired general, conceded that a doctor might be able to find an appointment for a Rotary colleague even though the appointment book was full for months ahead.

But a survey shows that most Rotarians are appalled at the suggestion that the club is where rich people get together to help each other.

Neither do they like being stamped as a club for the elite, although Klein admits that they do rate high socially.

A survey shows that more than a third of members are either chief executives or in some other top managerial position. The rest are mainly professionals in private practice.

Membership is by invitation. People who try and push themselves are not only regarded as behaving crudely. They also ruin their chances of ever being invited to join.

However Fritz Hermanns, chairman of the Cologne city savings bank, says that you don't have to be a senior director of a company to be considered worthy.

It was not the size of the wallet that counted. It was the person himself.

Hermanns speaks of an ideal cross-section. Otherwise, as Klein says, "in Leverkusen, there would be only chemists, for example." (Leverkusen is the home of Bayer, the chemicals c[...]pany).

In theory, this cross-section is [...]sured by following the long-stand[...] principle that only one member f[...] each industry or profession is invite[...] join a club in any area.

In practice it doesn't always w[...] For example, Bonn Foreign Minis[...] Hans-Dietrich Genscher is a mem[...] of the South Bonn-Bad Godesberg [...] although he is a lawyer and there [...] no place for another lawyer.

But there is another reason. Pro[...] sions are split up into sections so [...] for example, in another club th[...] might be not only a doctor of medic[...] but also a specialist in internal me[...] cine, a surgeon, a specialist in chi[...] ren's illnesses, a neurologist and an [...] thopaedist.

In the banking city of Cologne, He[...] manns is not the only banker in C[...] logne Rotary.

There are many members from [...] services in Rotary, and if this tr[...] towards specialisation increases, [...] could happen that an admiral, a sq[...] dron leader and a general will sit n[...] to each other at some Rotary table.

One German club had its represe[...] tion from the textiles industry split [...] a wool weaver, a knitting wool spin[...] a worsted yarn maker, a furni[...] covering maker and a textiles prod[...] tion engineer. All were related.

A high importance is placed on [...] tending the weekly meetings and a m[...] imum attendance rate of 60 per cen[...] insisted upon.

Hermanns says: "Members sho[...] discipline themselves to attend ou[...] respect for the others."

Meetings missed can be made [...] anywhere in the world. Herma[...] "Understanding between peoples i[...] real thing with us."

Rotarian meetings themselves, [...] says, gives the opportunity for peo[...] who have achieved a lot to tell oth[...] about their sphere of activity at the [...] ter-dinner speeches.

Rolf Hanstein, a former Colo[...] club president, once said Rotarians [...] not impressed with big names and [...] tles. It was what was done that count[...]

Harald Bisk[...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anz[...]
Cologne, 23 February 19[...]

Continued from page 12

are 100-per-cent recyclable. But they are unlikely to be recycled in the foreseeable future. For the time being they will merely make the garbage mountains bulge.

If all drinks were to be sold in non-returnable packaging the volume of household garbage would increase by 25 per cent per annum, and more and more dustvans are already carting old cans further and further afield.

That costs energy, raw materials and higher refuse disposal bills for the co[...] sumer.

Can manufacturers may occasion[...] try to remedy the damage they do to [...] environment by experimenting with d[...] pensers to collect empty cans retur[...] by consumers. But to no real effect.

The latest half-hearted bid in this d[...] partment has been abandoned beca[...] it failed to break even.

Ursula Reinsch

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsbl[...]
Hamburg, 3 March 19[...]

SOCIETY

Rape victims and courtroom ordeals: lawyers find no solution

The sex life of rape victims should not be dragged out in detail during [...]oss-examination in court, lawyers [...]greed at a meeting in Düsseldorf.

But how then, is defence counsel to [...]t? The meeting, of the lawyers' society [...]minal law committee, was not able to [...]me up with a formula.

Worse, some of the suggestions about [...] best to reduce the embarrassment [...] rape plaintiffs in the dock were so [...]ateurish and unrealistic that many [...]st have wondered when their authors [...]re last in a courtroom in anger.

It was appropriate that the meeting [...] in Düsseldorf: in a recent rape case [...]re, the defence lawyer, who also is [...]airman of the working group of Social [...]mocrat lawyers, was heavily criti[...]ed in the Press for his cross-examina[...] of a rape plaintiff.

Judge, public prosecutor and the [...]man's counsel had all during the [...]ing accused the defence lawyer, [...]ter Tondorf, of trying to portray the [...]im as being the offender.

Tondorf had ruthlessly bored into the [...]man's past, spending entire days ask-

Frankfurter Allgemeine

ing intimate questions without the slightest consideration. Next to no mention had been made of the man's sex life.

What, then, should be done? Tondorf had been presented with the insoluble problem confronting all defence counsel in such cases: how to both efficiently defend his client and, at the same time, protect the complainant from from excessive, probing cross-examination.

Proposals for reform of court procedure been tabled by the Social Democrats in the Bundestag, but lawyers at the Düsseldorf debate said the proposals do not reconcile the interests of both parties.

The meeting rejected the SPD suggestion that rights of the defence be curtailed.

It also felt that holding proceedings in secret at the plaintiff's request was not the answer.

According to the president of the Brunswick higher regional court, Rudolf Wassermann, hearing cases in open court is important to ensure that justice is seen to be done.

Then the meeting heard individual proposals on how embarrassment for injured and raped woman might be reduced.

The proposals were in many cases either naive or not workable.

Wassermann tried to get some sense back into the proceedings by suggesting that the style of cross-examining women witnesses be improved.

For him there was a "lack of finesse in the proceedings", due to the "rough methods" of some defence lawyers. If counsel were to treat the victim more gently in the witness box and judges were to hold proceedings in camera more often, then there would be no need to change existing procedure.

If the appeal to common sense was of no use, then it would be necessary "to watch against developments that would obviously discriminate against the witness." Legislation would then be necessary to protect her.

Judge Wassermann's proposal did not gain much approval from defence lawyers.

Düsseldorf lawyer Sven Thomas, well known for defence in commercial cases, was doubtful that Wasserman's idea of all working together in a case was one a defence counsel would be able to visualise in practice.

Cologne lawyer Norbert Gatzweiler pointed out that defence counsel who were prepared to put up a fight in court were a considerable improvement on procedural conformists.

Furthermore what use is it to the victim when embarrassing questioning is done politely? It is bound to be embarrassing, that is for certain.

Gatzweiler underlined the insolubility of the conflict when he said: "If I take on such a defence, then I accept that prosecution and defence are going to disagree."

The only woman on the panel, the Cologne lawyer Anne Lütges, confirmed this by her attitudes.

The antagonism that emerges in the court room reflects the power relationship between men and women in society today, she said.

So long as this was not changed women would always remain the weaker sex in court.

Her colleague from Cologne, Edith Lunnebach, said that the clash between the sexes in our society cannot be "counterbalanced by imposing restrictions on men before the court."

It was much more a matter of strengthening the woman's role.

Is it unrealistic to expect lawyers to accept self-restraint in court? That leaves only Anne Lütges' proposal: to allow the sex victim to sue the rapist for damages.

That would give her a chance to take an active part in proceedings, whereas she can at present only sue for defamation or grievous bodily harm or some offence other than the rape itself.

Lawyers for the women's movement, according to Anne Lütges, "have long tried to do just that.

There was little enough suggested in Düsseldorf for protecting women. There were no specific proposals on limits to defence powers in such cases.

Criminal procedure regulations remain the framework in which all concerned must operate. Lawyers who feel their only defence is to malign the victim's reputation have only one course really open to them — to give up the case, as a lawyer from the Ruhr suggested. The problem is no longer his.

A female member of the audience warned at the end of the event, "that that would not help women very much who were called into court and grilled by unscrupulous defence counsel."

Ingrid Müller-Münch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 March 1985)

14-year-old's jail suicide sparks debate

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The suicide of a 14-year-old boy in a Lower Saxony remand prison has [...]ashed a heated debate over whether [...] should have been there in the first [...]ce.

The boy was arrested on suspicion of [...]lt and held on remand during investi[...]tion. Three days later, he hung him[...]lf.

The Social Democrat Opposition in [...] Lower Saxony *Land* assembly asked [...] Justice Minister, Walter Remmers, if [...]re were no better way of dealing with [...]ng prisoners on remand.

Remmers said that last November [...]re were 36 people between the ages [...] 14 and 18 on remand in Lower Sax[...]y's prisons and 122 between 18 and [...].

Between 1977 and 1982, the *Land's* [...]sons held on average 45 persons per [...]ar between the age of 14 and 18. Half [...] these were released after almost two [...]onths.

In all *Länder*, young people were nor[...]lly held separate from other prison[...]s.

Schooling and career training were [...]en during remand and additional ed[...]ational contacts from outside prison [...]re encouraged.

An important part was played by par[...]s, court appointed social workers, [...]obation officers and educational [...]unsellors.

Fourteen- or fifteen-year olds in jail [...]e still required by law to go to school. [...]o they are given lessons.

Karl-Heinz Kallenbuch

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 3 March 1985)

Why do people keep dying on this road?

When the bus carrying 42 Royal Air Force bandsmen last month ploughed into the back of a kerosene tanker and crashed in flames, was the cause something beyond the explicable?

Eighteen of the bandsmen plus the German driver died. Nineteen of those who escaped were injured.

Now the short stretch of autobahn where the accident happened, between Nuremberg and Munich, has become known as The Death Stretch.

It is as straight as a die, yet the bandsmen's horror was one of three spectacular accidents within a space of eight days last month leaving 26 dead and 50 injured.

The dossier on this small piece of autobahn by the turnoff to Holledau, in the Pfaffenhofen district, goes back years.

Now there is talk of death rays and underground water courses causing the accidents.

Now the police are going to investigate whether there could be parapychological causes.

Bavarian police maintain that human error is the cause of 90 per cent of all traffic accidents.

But in the death strip case they are consulting not only police psychological boffins but will also probably commission the University of Regensburg to see if forces beyond the physical are at work.

Accident files show that most of the accidents happen south of the Holledau turnoff, that is, closer to Munich.

dpa

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 February 1985)

Continued from page 9

energy-saving measures are felt to be and the extent to which the general public come to feel such measures are essential.

Some systems are still having teethingtrouble, so there is ample scope for research activity.

Architecture today also has its more dubious aspects. Many modern architects relish nostalgia, for instance, and have no qualms about mixing past styles.

They feel that alone will relieve the monotony of glass and concrete. Greek pillars, Renaissance gables, *Jugendstil* ornaments and mediaeval bow windows are added for no apparent reason. They lack a function and are mere gags — kitsch.

They are an exclusively aesthetic answer to the straight up-and-down architecture of the post-war era. They rely on eclecticism pure and simple, and

Functionalism

on a jumble of stylistic elements. Post-war functionalism resulted in estates such as the Märkisches Viertel in Berlin, Sachsenhausen in Frankfurt, Perlach in Munich and Langwasser (arguably not as disastrous as the others) in Nuremberg.

The only way to supplant it is to view architecture in terms of its social function.

What is needed is an architecture of modest proportions, based on residents' needs rather than on aesthetic concepts. Green courtyards, roads closed to motor traffic and irregular housing and street patterns are what is needed.

Green, to quote Austrian ecologist Bernd Lötsch, is more than the parsley that is served with the pork brawn.

Residents must be involved in and associated with planning. That is surey a start to the shape of things to come. It must be a shape that at least partly bridges the divide between work, leisure and how we live.

Architect Herman Hertzberger has shown by his office block in Apeldoorn, Holland, that architecture can indeed contribute toward a more humane working environment by letting light in from nearly all sides, by providing glass-roofed courtyards and by ensuring there are plenty of plants indoors.

So examples of architecture with a human face do exist. It will depend on us whether they come to have a widespread effect. On us architects, town planners, developers and residents.

Architecture, the philosopher Ernst Bloch once wrote, is a bid to make home human. It is high time we recalled this modest but elementary objective.

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